THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE

FREDERICK WILLIAM ROMAN

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THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE

AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND GERMANY

BY

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

PREFACE

The present study is based on the belief that the only substantial hope of rescue in the present world-crisis and the saving of even civilization itself depend upon the degree to which the creative thought that the coming generations may bring is applied to a continued and purposeful reconstruction of the modes of living. The world is in need, as never before, of stronger and more clearly-conceived ideals of conscious effort in the service of humanity. The salvation of society must be mined out of its own depths. Much of this work must be done by those now at school, and therefore we are at once led to inquire to what extent the present systems of education provide for conditions that are provocative of free and spontaneous thought.

Such education as has prevailed until our own time has consisted for the most part of diligent and ordinary routine. It has been concerned with efforts to memorize and acquire considerable stores of knowledge that have no direct bearing as solutions of problems immediately ahead. This explains in part the present bankruptcy regarding notions that point to hopeful ways out of the present chaos. Men have been educated in a corner. They do not see the unity. Such knowledge as they possess is the product of efforts that have been directed by external aims in which the recipients have had neither interest nor understanding. All this means that their education is insufficient in degree and in quality to make them competent to give conscious direction to the course of civilization. Men are acting, but they know not in what direction, nor for what purpose. They are not even seeing "through a glass darkly," and unless education can make some radical changes, there is no great hope that in the near future they will see "face to face."

The War has not been productive of creative thought among the people as a whole. In a sense one may say that it has left large numbers in a state of indifference and lethargy. The working-people have been urged to give their support by all possible means to democratic educational reforms. Their response has been surprisingly feeble, especially when we consider that they and their children have everything to gain and no real sacrifices to make. Also, there seems just warrant for concluding that the middle and upper classes are not going to be able to realize any great profit from the lessons that the War might be supposed to have taught. The reader remembers that, throughout the period of the War, public opinion seemed almost unanimous in accepting the belief that changes of the most radical kind would take place in our social institutions. Great reforms were

going to sweep over all countries.[1] There would spring into existence new legislation and transformed institutions so markedly divergent from those of the pre-War days that the changes were to constitute the beginning of a new era in the political, industrial and social life of the world. For the most part these are unrealized dreams.

The criticism which we have just made regarding the educational systems of the several States may seem severe. The summarized statement regarding the present world-conditions may reflect a pessimistic outlook. Nothing is gained, however, by attempting to deceive ourselves regarding the realities of the situation. Education may not be the cause of our existing troubles, but certainly it seems difficult to conceive how anyone could be satisfied with what the present systems of education are able to offer towards extricating nations and peoples from their difficulties.

Our conception of the mental attitude that must of necessity precede any fruitful inquiry into the means of educational advancement requires an accurate survey of the world-conditions as they exist at the present moment. It is not our belief that the highest and most practical way of training youth can originate in the culture of other ages, or in ideals conceived more or less arbitrarily and philosophically. The education of each child begins properly with a readjustment of the environment in which the child passes its life. In the same manner, the improvement of any State system of education must take complete cognizance of all the social, political, and economic factors that prevail at any given moment. Our point of departure must take the world as it is. "The aim set up must be an outgrowth of existing conditions. It must be based upon a consideration of what is already going on; upon the resources and difficulties of the situation. Theories about the proper end of our activities—educational and moral theories—often violate this principle. They assume ends lying *outside* our activities; ends foreign to the concrete make-up of the situation; ends which issue from some outside source. Then the problem is to bring our activities to bear upon the realization of these externally supplied ends. They are something for which we *ought* to act. In any case such 'aims' limit intelligence; they are not the expression of mind in foresight, observation, and choice of the better among alternative possibilities. They limit intelligence because, given ready-made, they must be imposed by some authority external to intelligence, leaving to the latter nothing but a mechanical choice of means.

"We have spoken as if aims could be completely formed prior to the attempt to realize them. This impression must now be qualified. The aim as it first emerges is a mere tentative sketch. The act of striving to realize it tests its worth. If it suffices to direct activity

[1] The idea was prevalent everywhere that there would be a great advance in religion. This has been realized to some extent, but in just the opposite direction from the one that was generally prophesied. Instead of witnessing a general "get together" movement, we note a greater rivalry, distrust, and even bitterness among the various sects than before the War. This is showing itself as a positive hindrance to progressive school-legislation in all countries.

successfully, nothing more is required, since its whole function is to set a mark in advance; and at times a mere hint may suffice."[1]

To create a new basis for education will be no easy task. New ideas are arising everywhere, but society is so strongly under the control of custom and routine that any conscious developments of progressive tendencies are continually discouraged. On every hand we see an effort to suppress any deviation from what is current. "The man who looks at things differently from others is a suspect character; for him to persist is generally fatal."[2] This is true, even if all his proposed reforms are solidly supported by the latest and most approved scientific experiments or the most sound deductions taken from observations of every-day life.

In each of the several countries with which the present study is concerned there is a considerable body of men and women who have undertaken a serious and thoughtful campaign of education. The pages that follow attempt to give a summary account of the origin and the likelihood of success of these several undertakings.

In general it will be noted that the greater part of the discussion is confined to elementary, technical and commercial education. It is around these types that the actual changes and proposed reforms have centred. The emphasis and the amount of space devoted to the various topics has been dictated by the apparent degree of importance that the changes and proposed reforms seem to hold in the educational system as a whole and in the future of democracy.

In the preparation of these pages the writer has consulted and studied nearly all the more important school-reform literature that has appeared in each of the countries since the outbreak of the Great War. However, the volume owes its contents more to information which has been collected and verified personally than to the reading of papers and books. In this connection he wishes to acknowledge the deepest debt of gratitude to the school officers and teachers who have opened their schools and extended to him everywhere a most cordial reception. The names that are specifically cited are only a few among the many that deserve recognition for the information and friendly counsel which were given so generously:

Mr. A. E. Twentyman, Director of Special Inquiries and Reports of the Board of Education of England and Wales,

Mr. Frank Roscoe, Secretary of Teachers' Registration Council, Editor of *Educational Times*,

Mr. Beresford Ingram, Director of Continuation Schools, L.C.C.,

Miss Henrietta Busk, Member of Council of Bedford College for Women,

Dr. B. M. Allen, Deputy Education Officer, L.C.C.,

Dr. C. W. Kimmins, formerly Chief Inspector of Education, L.C.C.,

Miss Norah March, Editor of *National Health*,

[1] Dewey, John, *Education and Democracy*, pp. 121-2.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 346.

Dr. George McLean, Director of the American University Union, and Miss J. F. Wood, former President, N.U.T., supplied much valuable information regarding the schools of England and Wales. Further, the writer is indebted to these same persons for introductions that proved most useful. In some instances teachers and friends of education devoted almost their entire time for a period of several days to accompanying the writer on his visits to the schools, or to collecting school-statistics. Among these we mention Miss Mary Norrington, Principal of the Women's Evening Institute, London; Mr. Robert P. Moncrieff, of Newcastle-on-Tyne; Mr. J. L. Paton, Head-master of the Manchester Grammar School; Miss Sara A. Burnstall, Head-mistress of the Girls' High School, Manchester; Mr. T. W. Trought, J.P., Head-master of one of the Council Schools of Birmingham; and Mr. W. R. Ferguson, Principal of the schools for Cadbury's Works, Bournville. Information on Scottish education was received from Mr. J. C. Smith, Inspector of Normal Schools, Mr. Thomas Henderson, Editor of the *Scottish Educational Journal*, Mr. F. Morley Fletcher, Director of the Edinburgh College of Art, and Mr. J. Clark, Director of the schools of Glasgow. Moreover, the writer is indebted to these officials for introductions. In his visits to Ireland he was greatly assisted by Professor D. L. Savory, of Queen's University, Belfast, and by Mr. T. Rea, Inspector of Schools, Belfast. Mr. W. Monk Gibbon, of Greystones, Co. Wicklow, furnished important information on the present school-conditions.

The writer desires to express his thanks to M. Firmin Roz, of the National Office of French Universities and Schools, for securing permission from the various Rectors and Inspectors of Academies to visit the schools. The well-known educationist M. Ferdinand Buisson, and M. Paul Lapie, Director of Primary Instruction in France, supplied useful statistical material and information relating to recent legislation. For information regarding French secondary education the writer is particularly indebted to M. Robert Dupouey, Director of the Alliance Française, M. Georges Dalmeyda, Professor of Latin at the Lycée Condorcet, and to M. Marcel Bernès, Professor of Philosophy at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand. The writer owes much information on Normal Schools, elementary education, and the general political and social outlook of France, to M. Bourdon, M. Gourdon and M. Gay, Directors of the Normal Schools of Rennes, Angers and the Seine, respectively; also to M. Louis Chalivoy, Professor at the Normal School of Versailles, M. Roger Cousinet, Primary Inspector at Arcis-sur-Aube, Madame Marie Gaspard, Directress of the Girls' School in the XIVth *arrondissement* of Paris, and M. Clais, Director of the Annex School of the Seine. In the spring of 1921 the writer undertook a month's walking-tour through Brittany, with the object of visiting the schools. He was accompanied by M. François Thépault, Primary Inspector at Rennes, and M. René Ozouf, Primary Inspector at Saint-Malo, for a period of two weeks each. Their detailed explanations of the problems in French education were invaluable. The relation of the parents to the schools, the renewed

religious agitation, the conflicts among the various political parties, the relation of primary education to all forms of higher instruction, the local colour as exhibited by the various sections of France, were presented in a most clear and impressive light. Many other teachers interested in French educational reforms, especially those representing the *Compagnons* movement, have indicated fruitful lines for observation and research.

The many changes in education since the German Revolution have been explained to the writer by his one-time teacher, Professor Ludwig Bernhard of the University of Berlin; the well-known educationist, Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, formerly head of the schools of Munich and now Professor of Comparative Education in the University of Munich; Fräulein Agnes Herrmann, former member of the City Council of Berlin; Dr. Kühne and Dr. Ziertmann, both officials in the Prussian Ministry of Commerce and Industry; Dr. Anna Siemsen, Assistant Superintendent of the Continuation Schools of Berlin; Frau Anna Oventrop, a former teacher but at present a member of the Prussian Parliament; and Dr. Kulnick, Director of the Official Bureau of Information for the schools of Prussia. Each one gave introductions which facilitated the visits to the various types of schools. The educational philosophy underlying the movement of the *Entschiedene Schulreformer* was exposed in its various aspects by the President of the Organization, Dr. Paul Oestreich, and also by some of its most prominent supporters, Dr. Siegfried Kawerau, Dr. Franz Hilker, and Dr. Karl Schewe. The New Hamburg system of education was elucidated by one of its founders, Herr A. Jensen, whose schools the writer visited on several occasions. Visits to the schools in the country-districts near Hanover were greatly facilitated by the assistance of Fräulein Lina Söfker, a teacher of the schools in the district of Rinteln. A similar service was rendered for the State of Saxony by Herr R. Breitschneider and Herr Heinecke, teachers of the Dresden schools. Particular gratitude is due to Herr E. Pilland, a teacher of Nürnberg, and Herr Olaf Rubner of Munich, a student of technical education, for many of the facts concerning the changes in the schools of Bavaria.

During the years which the writer has devoted to his several educational studies he has profited repeatedly by the kindly suggestions and counsel of MM. Charles Bouglé, Charles Cestre and Paul Fauconnet, members of the Faculty of Letters of the Sorbonne, to whom he wishes to express his most appreciative thanks.

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PART I

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Chapter I

FORCES THAT ACCOUNT FOR THE RECENT ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION AND ITS FATE IN APPLICATION

(*a*) Complexity Of The English School Problem

The activity of any people in the political, religious, industrial, and educational spheres, and the like, can best be explained and understood when scrutinized from two distinct angles: the immediate present and the long past. The educational projects and new school enactments, and their success and failure in practice in the several countries, during and after the War period, will serve as apt cases in point to illustrate how the shifting positions of popular opinion find their equilibrium in the rivalry of an ever-pressing present and a hardened and persistent past.

The student of educational programmes and policies of the last decade for Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States finds much that is similar and common to all of them; nevertheless, it is their immense variations that command his immediate and initial attention. Only after the student commences to regard the projection of new issues and their stabilization, as a result and response to the forces playing in any given field of observation, does he begin to see anew how the contrast and comparison of educational problems among the several countries can be made to produce new values for the present and future generations. An insight into how these events are brought to a focus carries with it a certain knowledge as to how they may be controlled. Herein lies our hope.

After the school statistics, laws, programmes, facts relating to school administration and organization, and the aims of those responsible for the training of youth, have been assembled and classified for two or more nations, the task that appears uppermost lies in getting an explanation that accounts for the differences.

Let us take England[1] as a starting-point for a list of contrasts and

[1] For the moment it is not a question of the superiority or inferiority of the educational system or civilization of one nation over that of the other. In the opinion of the writer such a question, in so far as it might relate to Great Britain, France, Germany or the United States, would be impossible to solve. The detailed comparison and examination of the several school-systems will be found in Part IV.

comparisons, chosen from many, which may serve to illustrate the points under consideration:

(*a*) Why is it that England is the last among the great nations to attempt National School Legislation?

(*b*) Why does England present the greatest variety of types of education, thereby giving an impression of lack of order?

(*c*) How shall we explain the complete autonomy which is enjoyed by the English Public School, especially in the light of the fact that such freedom could not be tolerated in either France or Germany?

(*d*) Why is religious instruction considered essential in the Government Schools of England, and non-essential in those of France?

(*e*) How shall we account for the moderate enrolment in Continuation Schools in England as compared with the high enrolment in Germany and the almost non-existence of such an enrolment in France?

(*f*) How is it to be explained that school-attendance has been enforced only in comparatively recent years in England, whereas in Germany compulsory attendance is an accomplished fact of long standing, and in France, although the law exists, it is not enforced anywhere?

(*g*) How does the impression arise that the educational system of England lays stress on games; that of France on learning; that of Germany on knowledge—although, apparently, always subordinated to obedience and order?

(*h*) How can we explain the wide divergencies as to values?

Probably no school-system in the world is as difficult to understand as the English. This impression deepens after a long series of interviews with teachers and School Authorities.

This apparent want of organization, and the absence of any large amount of literature discussing the theories of education, strike the foreign student as one of the first traits that should be explained. An English master ventured to offer a suggestion to the writer that may be helpful: "We English act, and explain afterwards if it seems necessary." Another authority on English schools suggested the idea that it was rather dangerous to have too many theories about things, in view of the every-day experience of life that it was very hard to live up to a theory. Life was made up of compromise and the man who really succeeded was found to be one who had shown his ability to turn his hand to a variety of resources that were not always consistent with one another.[1]

There is one sense, however, in which we may say that the English school-system does show a marked unity. In other countries the school-system has been made; in England it has grown. If a student

[1] Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 27.

of comparative education expects anything like a clear understanding and appreciation of the present-day school-reform going on in England it is necessary that he become acquainted with the many features of this long-unbroken educational growth. There are certain contrasts in English education to-day that present themselves in a marked degree when one attempts to compare it with French or German education; these contrasts cannot be explained except in the light of this long-uninterrupted period of educational development. An examination of English education shows that it is the product of many divergent enterprises, and each particular form of education retains even to this day, in a very high degree, the ear-marks and spirit of its founders. It is a picture that lacks order. It seems to want system. It has been painted by many artists, and each one has contributed the spirit of his age and of his class to his particular conceptions of the training of youth. The unity lies in the long period of unbroken evolution.

(*b*) The English Public Schools As A Determining Factor In Shaping The Policy Of Educational Life In England

(1) *For Whom Were These Schools Originally Intended?*

The foreign student of the English school-system will not have gone far in his researches before he will be likely to conclude that, among all the forces that are playing on the educational field in England, the foremost in importance is still the English Public School.[1] This power of the Public School is not wielded because of great numbers; nor would there be unanimity of agreement that it owed its source to its record for intellectual attainments; but it is rather to be explained by what is almost incomprehensible to an American—an inordinate love and admiration for tradition, and a willingness, even in these days of much talked of democracy, to be counselled and led by an aristocracy.

Tradition is not the only fulcrum which supports the influence of the English Public School. The economic position, the rights of self-administration, and what amounts to almost a monopoly in the assignments of important posts in the Government (all of which will be explained in more detail in succeeding pages), go far in accounting for the exceptional prestige which this type of school enjoys.

Certain facts about the origin and development of this type of institution will elucidate our argument. The nine English Public Schools that are usually cited as holding the first rank were, all but one, founded before 1600.[2] Time alone, then, has been sufficient to

[1] When one asks why these institutions are called English Public Schools one sometimes receives the jocular reply: "They are called *English* because they teach Latin and Greek; *Public* because they are private; and *Schools* because no small part of the time is allotted to athletics."

[2] Winchester, 1384; Eton, 1440; St. Paul's, 1510; Shrewsbury, 1552; Westminster, 1560; Merchant Taylors', 1561; Rugby, 1567; Harrow, 1571; Charterhouse, 1612.

make a long tradition. As to the type of pupil for whom these schools were originally intended we cite the following: "Wykeham, a statesman, a man of the world and a convinced hater of the religious orders, founded Winchester as a school that should prepare students for New College, Oxford. It originally consisted of a warden and 10 fellows, a headmaster and an undermaster, 70 poor scholars, 3 chaplains and 16 choristers. Besides these there might be 10 paying scholars, chosen from among the sons of noble and influential persons, special friends of the College."[1] [2]

As regards Eton, which was established 60 years later: "When King Henry VI desired to establish a foundation which should exceed that of Wykeham, he associated with the school an almshouse for 'twenty-five poor and weakly men.' The association of an almshouse with the school marks the purpose of the school as a charitable endowment for the lower classes of the community."[3] That St. Paul's School was not originally meant to be an institution for the sons of the well-to-do classes is clearly indicated by the original provision that the "number of pupils was fixed at 153; who were to be taught *gratis*; parents were to provide wax candles in winter, to furnish their children with one penny each for the offering at St. Paul's at the Feast of the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28) and to pay an entrance fee of fourpence (equal to about four shillings to-day) for each child. These entrance fees were paid over to a 'poor scholar' who swept the schoolroom every Saturday and 'from time to time' gave the necessary attention to the exceedingly primitive sanitary arrangements."[4]

It seems well not to attach an exaggerated importance to the meaning of the word "poor." Thorough scientific investigations seem to warrant us in thinking of these early schools as being intended not as a rule for "the absolutely poor, the sons of labourers, but the relatively poor, the poor relations of the richer classes, 'the younger sons of nobility and farmers, the lesser landlords, the prosperous tradesmen', although bright boys who were really poor were sometimes educated free for the professions."[5]

[1] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 9.

[2] "We may also point out that it was not customary at this time for boys of good family or even for the sons of wealthy and prosperous merchants and tradesmen to be educated by being sent to school. The instances which may be given are few and inconclusive. The usual practice adopted for the education of these young people, as we have shown, was either to send them to a great household, or, at a later date, to have a private tutor in the house. Evidence may be adduced to show that youths of good social standing rarely proceeded to the Universities at this time."—Parry, *Education in the Middle Ages*, p. 199.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 200.

[4] Adamson, *A Short History of Education*, p. 120.

[5] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 6.

(2) *How These Institutions Passed into the Hands of the Upper Classes*[1]

We have already noted that Winchester, at its first organization, had made provision for a small number of paying pupils. Similarly, Eton provided for twenty paying pupils. The early statutes of Harrow allowed that "the Schoolmaster may receive over and above the youths of the inhabitants in his parish so many foreigners, as the whole may be well taught, and applied, and the place can conveniently contain, and of these foreigners he may take such stipend and wages as he can get."[2]

For a variety of reasons it is explained how the original recipients were dispossessed in favour of sons of the wealthy. "We shall notice later the increasing division of classes, produced by the religious conflicts and civil wars of the Tudors and Stuarts, and resulting in the monopoly of endowments by the Church. Since the Church embraced the wealthier classes, there would be less likelihood of poverty characterising the parents of the boys who would seek a free education under Church influence, and the middle-class dissenters of the town would avoid such institutions as the public schools whatever their financial qualifications might be. But there were, undoubtedly, many poorer professional men who really needed help in the education of their children, and to whom the Church monopoly can have been no impediment. Why, then, did they gradually cease to take advantage of free scholarships? The answer is, that through maladministration on the part of the schools the scholarships were really no longer free, that to be a scholar was no longer a possible position for a poor man's boy. The public schools, from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, became increasingly close preserves of the aristocracy, offering to a minority a 'free education' of which the freedom from cost was purely illusory, and to all pupils an education that will not bear close examination, simply because their rulers were often dishonest, and because there was no effective outside control to check abuses before they acquired the prestige of custom. For instance, the property with which Eton was endowed rapidly increased in value, while the stipend of the Fellows, paid in money, correspondingly diminished as time went on. The result was that the statutes were

[1] "The total endowment of the nine great Public Schools amounts to a large sum. These funds, however, are largely devoted to the maintenance of foundation-scholarships in accordance with the terms of the bequest. At Eton, for example, there are seventy-seven such scholars or 'collegers.' These scholarships were intended by the founders for poor boys, but, as Lord Salisbury once pointed out, the tendency of such bequests is to drift into the wrong hands—the rich rob the poor. Here in the English public school as in the French Lycée, even were the poor boy able enough, he is not rich enough to accept these gifts. As a matter of fact, the standard of examination for these scholarships is such that a poor lad to-day has practically no chance of carrying off a foundation-scholarship at a Public School. Rich men are not ashamed to allow their sons to hold scholarships deliberately left for the sons of their poorer neighbours."—Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 310.

[2] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 11.

openly broken, and the appreciation in values was diverted to what seemed its proper destiny—the pockets of the Provost and Fellows. Thus we read that in the twenty years before 1862 they divided amongst themselves £127,700, gained by the increased increment as leases of valuable land were renewed. They were far, indeed, from the paltry £10 that Wykeham stipulated should be paid them yearly for their sinecure! Similarly, at Winchester, the Warden, by 1636, incurred a rebuke from Laud, the Visitor, for appropriating college-funds, and in 1710 the Sub-Warden and Bursar protest that it is notorious that the collegers (scholars) are so badly provided for as to be at the charge of their friends, and that the Warden took from the college-income for his own use a greater sum than the amount applied to the maintenance of all the seventy scholars put together. At Eton, Maxwell Lyte tells that in 1635 the scholars complain that they are robbed of breakfast, clothing, bedding, and the commonest necessities of life, while the college income is divided among the few. The complaint about breakfast, then a less formal meal than now, and not furnished to the scholars of Westminster till 1846, is perhaps unreasonable since it was unprovided for in the statutes; about the general condition of things there can be no doubt. In self-defence the poor scholars had to pay for extras, out of their friends' pockets, by the end of the eighteenth century, sums amounting to £60 at Winchester, £80 at Eton, and on a similar scale elsewhere. Naturally poor scholars ceased to come to Public Schools, and at Eton, in 1840, we find only thirty-five out of seventy scholarships filled up."[1]

If we may be allowed to digress for a moment, it will be interesting to call attention to the fact that the tendency to crowd out the financially poor pupils has once more been powerfully accentuated by the World War. All over England the Secondary Schools are not only filled, but everywhere long waiting-lists are reported.[2] Many of these schools are under obligation, in consideration of certain grants, endowments and other privileges, to hold open a specified number of free places. There is a strong effort, on the part of those administering the schools, to reduce this number to a minimum, or to get rid of them altogether. The School Authorities say: "Why should we take the poor when we cannot supply enough places for those who are willing to pay? Besides the school needs the money." There may be a certain

[1] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 12.

[2] "In secondary schools the children of the poor are being gradually crushed out. The Government are limiting the grants; more, they are cutting them down drastically and the result is . . . . the fees are going up. No new schools are being built and the consequence is that the available places are going to those who can afford to pay. There are many thousands of children in this country well-qualified to profit by secondary education to whom it is being denied, not by parents who are willing to make some sacrifices but by Government and Local Authorities. Every school has a waiting-list and it is a scandal at this time of day that such children should be denied all educational opportunity."—From the London Letter in *The Scottish Educational Journal* of September, 1922.

amount of justice in these contentions. Our interest for the moment lies in noting the observation that, here, we have a force that is operating to make the Secondary Schools of England a still more powerful instrument of the well-to-do. The reader cannot fail to see in this a definite blow to democracy. And how are we to reconcile such tendencies with the slogan that the War was going to make the world "safe for democracy?" It is well-known that, before the War, England as well as other nations, showed well-defined growth toward democracy as regards her schools. The proportion of free places was increasing; tuition was being reduced or omitted altogther. The War has brought a definite check to a continued development in this direction. Unless England, as well as other States, finds means of widening the channels of educational opportunity at a constantly-accelerating pace, and removes the new impediment which the War has left in its wake, the impartial historian will not be able to do otherwise than record retrogression as one among other results of the Great War. In fact, evidence seems to be already accumulating to lead us to suspect that this judgment would not be premature.

But to return to our former phase of the discussion. We observe that in England things grow, and that centuries have elapsed since anything such as an uprooting of institutions has taken place there.

Interior revolutions in England have never been of sufficient moment to affect these ancient school-foundations in any marked financial or administrative way. It is true that these schools have undergone decided evolutions which have made adaptation to the changed demands of the times possible. It is this ability to adapt themselves to new conditions that has saved these schools from the unfortunate circumstance of accumulating enemies on the outside, as has been the case in other countries; for that reason the foreign student in England notes that there are a large number of Higher Schools in England that have always been practically free from government-interference, and, furthermore, that they enjoy this freedom in an almost unquestioned degree to the present day. In other countries such institutions have become the objects of long and bitter campaigns, because it was felt that the school no longer represented the spirit of the age and that its teachings were not only out of harmony, but, in many cases, in complete disaccord with the existing form of government. In England the Public Schools are considered to be the rock-foundation of English spirit, and, instead of being a source of opposition to the Government, we find them cited as the chief supply-field for recruiting those who govern England. The historical fact that England has not been swept in recent times by great revolutions accounts in part for the late establishment of a national system of education. People have been content to go on with the established forms, and, since these showed a reasonable tendency to meet new changes, a crisis in educational life was never allowed to develop.

(3) *The Acts of Uniformity Accentuated Class Divisions in English Educational and Political Life and Left an Irreconcilability Which Obtains to This Day*

The economic competition and political rivalry of the seventeenth century took on the form of a religious struggle which resulted in a series of acts attempting to establish uniformity.[1] Chief among these enactments was the Act of Uniformity of 1662, whereby all school-endowments passed under the control of the State Church. This brought about a class and sectarian division that destroyed all hope, at that juncture, of maintaining a national system of education. The consequences brought into play, at that time, are exercising definite influences even to this day. Differences that were allowed to harden and fasten themselves in social and religious groups in those days form salient outposts that prevent a united action and a democratic[2] organization of educational work in our own time.

The Uniformity Acts accentuated, in a powerful degree, the tendency of the Endowed Schools of that day to become peopled by the sons of the rich—a characteristic which we have already noted in the previous division (see p. 5) "The fact that Dissenters were increasingly drawn from the poorer strata of the population made wealthy Churchmen inclined to confuse poverty and Dissent, and unwilling to let their sons receive contamination in a free school which poor Dissenters might attend. The endowments, too, were in many cases in money, and as money fell in value they became inadequate to maintain the school without further financial help. In earlier and better days such help would have been readily forthcoming, and the standard of the institution would have been kept up, without impairing its comprehensive utility through the establishment of fees that would exclude the poor. Now, as we have shown, appeal to public opinion was useless, for such opinion was both socially and politically divided when it was not altogether indifferent to education. Hence free schools were often converted into fee schools, thereby effectively shutting out the poor."[3]

[1] It may be helpful if the reader will compare most of these efforts at uniformity and standardization that obtained among the rival groups within the nation a few centuries ago, with the present-day attempts of the nations to regulate each other as to arms, size of territory, political aspirations, etc. All those repressive measures failed then, and there is not the slightest evidence that such economic and political philosophies can succeed now. They were then, as they are now, a most fruitful source of uncertainty and unrest in every department of life.

[2] True, it will be said that England founded a national system of education in 1870, and much is heard about British democracy. We are not trying to contest the correctness of the meaning that our English friend attaches to these words. We content ourselves with pointing out that when an Englishman and an American use the words "national" and "democratic" in conversation with each other, the misunderstanding will be hopeless so long as each insists that these words carry the conceptions that prevail for the use of these terms in their respective countries.

[3] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 17.

"The fact that the masters in the Grammar Schools were bound to be Churchmen kept Non-Conformists who had means from sending their boys to such pernicious instruction."[1] The inevitable result followed. There came into existence a rival group of schools. Most of them were founded for definite sectarian purposes. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the establishment of schools by the Society of Friends, Catholics, Methodists, Congregationalists, also of a number of Independent Schools. English literature abounds in woeful tales of the gross defects and abuses tolerated in private academies. "Many private schools, of course, were free from enormities of discipline and management; and some few probably gave teaching at least as efficient as the teaching of the bulk of endowed schools. Still the unwelcome fact remains that the Act of Uniformity directly led to the establishment of a system of private instruction which, in spite of individual excellence, and not forgetting the great services now rendered by the kindergarten and preparatory schools, has, we think, undeniably been the most characteristic weakness of English education; and which still, for better or worse, is estimated to include 30 per cent. of the secondary teaching of the country."[2]

(4) *Certain Barriers that Make Democratic Growth in Education Difficult*

We are warranted in saying that the history, in all countries, of elementary education for the masses who toil, is a record of constant war against privilege. The struggle becomes all the more bitter when the labouring-classes commence to demand an education that is really liberalizing, i.e., a training for their children that gives an outlook upon the whole of life. We can note an evolution both in thought and in industrial advancement itself; a constant growth toward a willingness, even a real desire, on the part of those better-situated in life to encourage an education that will make the masses more competent in their work. It is too materialistic to be truly liberal. The German pre-War philosophy of education was of this type. The doctrines held by the American commercial and industrial classes are not nearly so far behind the German notion as many unthinking Americans are wont to believe. A system of education which represents an effort to make possible an unrestricted growth of the talents of all the people, without regard to fortune or station, does not yet obtain in any country—not even in the United States.[3]

No wonder the idealists and humanitarians of the world were so happily surprised by the passage of the 1918 Fisher Act. Knowing what a slow process of evolution had always characterized the growth of democratic education in England, it was with a thrill of joy that friends of democratic progress hailed the news that England was going

[1] *Ibid*, p. 17.

[2] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 20.

[3] The struggles of a really democratic education to assert itself are set forth in another work by the author: *La place de la Sociologie dans l'Education aux Etats-Unis*. Chap. IX to XIV.

to do something out of the ordinary for education! Fours years have passed! Much of our hope has fled since then. The Act is still on the Statute Books, but its more important provisions have not been carried into execution. This explains our present search for the forces that are either indifferent to the facts of democracy or consciously occupied in blocking progress in the direction of democratic education. It seems necessary to account for the standstill in progress. In fact that the world is everywhere in a state of reaction is not generally denied.

The battle that the masses must continually carry on against the privileged financial classes is much the same in England as in any other modern state. There are, however, several most interesting and unique phases that have grown out of the wealth possessed by the English Public Schools. These will require a more careful setting if the reader is to be made clear on the kind of influence that is exercised in English educational policy by the Public Schools.

A few additional facts will serve to give point to our argument. The entire number of English Public Schools that are rated as of first rank is considered to be about sixty, and the number of boys educated in them is probably something less than 25,000. The number is small as compared with the 6,000,000 school-children in England and Wales.

How the schools passed into the hands of the rich has already been noted. The rise in the arts in the last half-century, and an increased population have raised the unearned increment of their landed properties, the income of which affords a standard of living that makes its recipients an upper caste of society. Despite the enormous income attached to the schools, the fees for attendance are so high that they are prohibitory to the moderately poor, and possible to the salary-earning middle-class and the "new poor" only at tremendous sacrifices. There are two additional reasons why these schools touch the masses at very few points. The curriculum is still dominated by the classics, although in recent years modern studies have been accepted to a certain extent. Again, the time spent on games is so great that that alone would form a barrier between the Public Schools and the educational institutions for the masses. The children of the working-classes cannot, in any foreseeable time, hope to get sufficient leisure to make the playing-schedule of the Public School a possibility for them; besides, the Council Schools would never be able to acquire the amount of ground sufficient for the exercise of the games considered of paramount importance by the Public Schools. In fact, the whole standard of life, both in school and out of it, is one in which the masses can never hope to share.

We are now ready to return to what we have mentioned above: the kind of influence that the Public School exercises on all the other schools. Primarily, it is a control exercised through wealth, but it is accomplished by a much more subtle and refined manoeuvring than one is accustomed to witness in the United States, for example. There, the attack on the part of wealth is quite direct, and often takes

the form of open conflicts between capital and labour on such questions as school-administration, curriculum, appointment and dismissal of teachers. Fortunately, wealth is not the only asset of the English Public School group. A large number of them do have real culture. All their surplus-energy need not be spent on social climbing. The strength of their position is fixed in part by the possession of genuine values. From this group has come the main supply of those who have administered the affairs of England. That record is an open book, on whose pages may be read the account of British diplomatic relations, the services of Embassies and Consulates. The high honour that is known to exist among the English Judiciary may probably be credited, in no small degree, to the character-training given in the Public Schools. To these achievements in the official world we must add that the name of "Arnold of Rugby" gave these schools a popularity which continues to this day.

The economic knowledge and social consciousness of the English people is not developed sufficiently highly for them to question seriously the right of a small group to enjoy the earnings that society is producing for the holders of the school-property; and, so long as the latter are allowed almost complete freedom in the administration of the schools, it is quite evident that their influence will be enormous. They are not dependent upon anyone.

Despite the fact that the Public Schools are cut off from the masses, their policy sets the standard for all other schools in a most appreciable way. The Grammar Schools try to imitate them in curriculum, games, traditions and fashions. Of course only a few of them can reproduce the Public School life, but the attempt to do so is visibly present all the time. Even the public playing-grounds and playing-fields for the Council Schools show in a hundred ways that the boys are trying to imitate what they have seen or heard of the Public Schools. The unconscious domination of the Public Schools over the teachers and School Authorities of the Council Schools is probably much greater than would appear from any list of specific notings that one might make. A long series of interviews with teachers, school-administrators and the people generally, have revealed how deep is the awe felt towards the English Public School.[1]

The facts that we have presented and the deductions that we have made therefrom, in this chapter, need to be carefully kept in mind when we discuss the Fisher Act of 1918.[2] It seems hardly conceivable that the Public School group will decide to share its monopoly of the enjoyment of wealth, social position, rulership of the State and prestige in every department of life, without a real struggle. The Fisher Act promised to be a long step in that direction. The conditions that led the Public School group to decide to allow that Act to pass, and, thereby, open the doors to talent from all ranks, we shall

[1] We are not unaware that sharp criticism is going on in certain quarters. As yet it has not become widespread. (See p. 65.)

[2] See pp. 45-53.

discuss in a later chapter. For the present, we content ourselves with asking the reader to keep this group in mind as one of the most powerful factors that need to be considered when anything is to be accomplished in the domain of legislation for education.

It will be all the more difficult for democracy to break down these barriers because it must be admitted—and even the most thorough-going democrat will concede this—that the English system of education has apparently a fairly good record to show. Any rival system will certainly have to make good its claims. However, if it be true, as we believe, that the world is destined to have a much broader democratic basis from which talent is to be chosen, we have reason to surmise that certain changes must take place in England. A state that buries or handicaps any part of the talent among its people can hardly hope to survive in the competition among the nations.

The Grammar School must be considered as essentially a middle-class provision that is quite aristocratic in conception. In general, it may be said that the intellectual movement growing out of the Reformation created impulses that led to the establishment of a large number of these Grammar Schools. Of the seven hundred schools of this type that were in existence in 1902, two-hundred-and-fifty dated their origin from the Reformation. That they are still under the spell of the Public School is shown in that "the ideal avowed or implied, of practically every Grammar School in England is that based upon a training of the classics. They all imitate as best they can the classical work of the Public School. They provide modern sides or alternatives, it is true, to meet the local needs, so far as their resources permit, and preserve intact the classical fetish; but those are extraneous tasks, quite outside the real purpose of the school.

"The schoolmasters estimate the value of their work, as indeed do their rivals, by the number of classical scholarships the *élite* of the school win annually. The backward boy, or even the average boy, is deliberately sacrificed to the brilliant boy. The parents of nine boys pay for the education of the tenth.

"The fact is, that most of these English secondary schools do not appeal to the great commercial and mercantile classes. These do, indeed, sometimes send their boys to the Public Schools, but for social, not educational reasons. If the truth were known, these great classes of modern English Society have a profound and instinctive distrust of the training of the secondary school.

"Fortunately, they recognize that the really permanent and valuable portion of that training is not that received in the class-room, but that obtained in the playing-fields, and consequently, as a rule, no permanently pernicious effects follow from this devotion of the secondary school to the classical tongues. These parents well know how few boys are ever so far impressed by this intellectual training as to show its effect in their character—so transitory is its impress that it disappears with school life—whereas those characteristics developed in the playground and the 'house' produce a permanent and far-reaching effect on the character of the youth.

"Not only in curriculum, but also in the internal working of the school are the Public Schools carefully copied. The differences are in detail, not in principle."[1]

The above citation represented the situation twenty years ago. The present-day student and observer gets the impression that there are some changes going on. Under the stress of industrial and commercial life the Grammar Schools have taken on greater tone and character. There is to be noted a much longer proportion of time given to industrial and commercial studies than was formerly the case. More and more, they are being forced, because of financial straits, to pass under the control of Councils. This means that they are being taken over by all the people. Instead of being an affair of class, they are, henceforth, to give expression to the aspirations of the masses. May we direct the attention of the reader, and especially if he be French, to that part of the above quotation which states that the "really permanent and valuable portion of training is obtained in the playing-fields rather than in the class-rooms." The stress that the English lay on games distinguishes, in a marked degree, their whole system of education from that of all other nations, and most widely from that of France.

We have already noted the admitted weakness of English education[2] resulting from the high percentage of pupils in attendance at Private Schools. In 1898, the official figures showed that 40 per cent. of boys and 70 per cent. of girls were enrolled in Private Schools. In 1909, there were still 30 per cent. of boys in these schools.[3]

The testimony that the writer was able to collect seemed well-nigh unanimous in agreeing that the majority are poorly-equipped and staffed by teachers wholly incompetent from every point of view.[4] We submit a citation which seems to cover the points under consideration: "Some of them, particularly the preparatory schools, are exceedingly efficient schools. These take boys at seven, and keep them until they enter the public school at twelve to fourteen years of age. Much of the best public school education is received in them. The curriculum, fixed as it is by the entrance examination of the public school, is much too heavy for boys of this tender age. Four languages are actually being simultaneously studied by boys under thirteen years of age! The curriculum is largely classical, but much is done by means of country walks and other means to help the pupil to organise his experience and realise his *milieu*.

"Some of the English private schools are, on the other hand, probably unequalled elsewhere from their utter inefficiency. Any man who has sufficient pence to get his brass plate engraved with his name may call his house an 'academy for the sons of gentlemen,' and so beguile

[1] Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, pp. 314 and 315.

[2] See citation on Uniformity Act, p. 9.

[3] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 20.

[4] In 1921 the Teachers' Registration Council was able to recognize only 625 out of 1,800 which applied for recognition.

the ignorant and foolish parent, with whom the world is so well supplied. Well might a German teacher tell me with scorn: 'In no country but yours would such charlatanism be tolerated.'

"These private schools are the public monuments of English philistinism. As a sympathetic French critic points out, to open a public house or a music-hall one must be licensed, to open a school one need not even know how to read or write. It is quite sufficient if one can pretend to know. It is very unfortunate that the class of society in England from which much of the stability of the State and a considerable portion of the national genius is derived is, in this matter of education, more at the mercy of the rogue and knave than any other class of society. The aristocracy and upper middle-class have the public and grammar schools at their service, where they know that a certain *quid pro quo* is obtained; the working-man has at his service the public primary and higher primary schools, where a certain education, guaranteed by the State, is obtainable gratuitously. But the vast bulk of the middle-class of England are left to their own untrained instincts to warn them of the trickery hidden behind brass plates and mystic symbols. Yet it is amongst this class which is from generation to generation hoarding its intellectual riches, storing these up in healthy bodies, that the germs of genius are most likely to be found.

"All these secondary schools have a remarkable similarity in curriculum. The Public School with its classical curriculum is the standard and ideal of all. According to their means they endeavour to approach this ideal. If their means are ample their classical course is strong and their modern language and science weak. If, however, their means are meagre, their classical course will still remain, but weaker; while science and modern languages will be negligible quantities in their curriculum."[1]

Just here may we call the readers' attention to the purpose to which the arrangement and exposition of these pages lead. We are, all the while, keeping in mind the 1918 Fisher Act. We are under the necessity of explaining how such an advanced piece of legislation ever got to the Statute Books; then, later, why it was not put into excution. All this "economy" cry in England has little to do with the non-execution of that Act. The explanations lie much deeper. As the heading of the chapter indicates, we are seeking out all the forces that rule in the English domain of education.

In the light of the facts thus far presented, are we not warranted in holding the view that, in so far as the Public School group approved, or allowed that Act to be passed, their motives must have been based principally on the belief that it was a necessity for England rather than for their own children? If England held her own among the nations, then its provisions were superfluous so far as their own welfare was concerned. The endowments of the Public Schools and the unearned increment of the propertied class would be ample to

[1] Hughes, *The Making of Citizens*, pp. 304-5.

provide for their own offspring. All this was dependent upon the continued solidarity and prestige of the British Empire. The fear that the very foundations were being shaken led the upper social classes to think in terms of idealism, which often finds expression when men make a thank-offering, after having experienced a long and terrible fear. Certain it is that not all even of the upper class group were actuated by fear, or any enthusiasm of the hour. No one group holds the monopoly of either noble or egoistic impulses that account for action.

We have travelled far enough on our search to have unearthed some of the causes that help to explain why the Fisher Act is not carried out. For the moment we shall pass over the assigned reasons—necessity for economy and the general reaction that has seized upon all peoples. There is something to be said for each of these contentions, and the arguments for and against them will be made the object of further study.[1]

Upon the surface of the exposition thus far it is clear that the upper classes are not bound to the purposes of the Act by any direct ties. Children other than their own are under consideration; hence, are so much more easy to forget. Maybe England can live and prosper without such democratic legislation. An end devoutly to be wished for! In that case, the present monopoly is to be preferred to a state of affairs which would assure the life of the Empire, but not necessarily the dominion of that future State by the children of their own class. Further, the stupid leadership regarding strikes, wages and liquor-control, that labour has been willing to follow since Armistice Day, has broken the spirit of even some of the most enlightened and humanitarian of the upper classes. One can understand their saying: "Well! What's the use?"

The facts presented by the case of the Private School afford another important key that explains the lethargy in seizing and pushing a piece of legislation affording a degree of advancement never before realized or dreamed of for the great masses of English children. The Private School situation proves conclusively that the middle-classes of England, even those of limited means, are still bent upon modelling themselves on the upper classes. They are too poor to send their children to the Public Schools or Grammar Schools, and too proud to send them to the schools of the people. In spirit and intention their influence is clearly on the side of the upper classes.. That would explain why no prolonged and tenacious effort toward the enforcement of democratic educational measures can be expected from these quarters. Their attitude toward the Fisher Act is best characterized by the word "indifference."

[1] See pp. 54-9.

(c) The Ruling Opinion in England promises to take its origin, in Increased Measure from the Class Groups that Patronize the Provided or Council Schools and the Non-Provided or Voluntary Schools[1]

1. *Some Reasons Why the Masses Are Apparently Slow in Asserting Freedom of Control in Educational Affairs*

We believe that it can be shown that the ruling opinion of any of the civilized nations presents marked evidence that it is being effectively formed by a constantly widening group. However slow that movement may be, the recent centuries of a growing self-responsibility among the toilers, the changed points of view regarding their right to have their children educated, and to share the fruits as well as the burdens of civilization, seem to leave no doubt as to the direction of the current.

The initiative and direction of educational policies, formerly in the hands of the upper and middle-classes, is effectively being challenged. If the Fisher Act is not put into full operation to-day it may be that the future historian will note that an extraordinary chain of circumstances hastened the passage of the Act: that it represented the true direction of educational advance of its day, but that it was premature. It would seem that the groups in whose interest this legislation was projected were not quite ready to lend a united and enlightened support to one of the chief instruments with which they might cope with the powers that are now dictating the measure and quality of their rewards and joys. Further, the War seems to have released and encouraged an exceptional degree of selfishness among the workers themselves. The moment was not opportune for them to make the most of enlightened legislation. Probably the chief explanation lies in the corrupted sources and inefficient means by which the masses are informed as to what is really going on. The writer has reason to believe that not only in England, but in France and in Germany, the average intention of labour toward fellow-labourers everywhere, and toward all classes, is more kindly-disposed and represents an absolutely higher degree of civilization than obtains among the upper classes. To appear to imply that the lower groups are more advanced than the higher classes may seem a contradiction. However, there is no contradiction in it. Briefly, it merely indicates an acceptance of the life-philosophy that the greater values are still in the masses. In truth, therein lies our only hope. If we thought that civilization was to be stranded with such direction as the governing classes are giving us in the several countries of our own time, the outlook would be depressing enough. We seem on the verge of being pitched over the abyss at almost every turn.

There is, however, a development to be traced in the recent centuries of English educational history which gives us a measure of

[1] For detailed explanation of the system of elementary education see pp. 30-43.

assurance that new forces are on the way. In the pages that follow we shall attempt to learn what we may of their origin and vicissitudes during the march of the centuries, in the hope that we may be able to forecast something of the positions that they will take as they enter into conscious contact with the rival forces on the present-day field of action.

It seems well-nigh impossible to give people anything. How often they throw away, by sheer lack of appreciation, gifts that are lavished upon them! The most that can be done is to create an environment whereby they may grow into deeper responsibility and capacity in the exercise of new privileges. The Fisher Act is an apparent illustration. After all, it had some gift-elements in it. It was so regarded by both those who passed the law and the group it was intended to benefit. The conviction as to its necessity and indispensability had not fully permeated the instinctive demands of either donor or recipient. Equality of educational opportunity has not yet fully taken the place of a system of education graded according to the social position of the individual. When that day comes the Fisher Act will seem, in the eyes of the English people, only an introduction to an educational system, not a fulfilment.

However, if the social gains in education seem a little slower in England than elsewhere, it is just possible it may mean that institutions there are more deeply rooted. The slower process of change has its brighter side. It seems doubtful if social institutions of any country in the world could stand a harder strain, in the event of a world-crisis, than could those of England. One might name countries in Europe in which the institutions are harder set than in England, but, in these States, the institutions are really dead. In England, they are hard set but not dead. On the contrary, they are very much alive.

2. *The Growth and Independent Direction of an Educational Policy "by the People and for the People"*

It is considered well-nigh axiomatic, in both Great Britain and the United States, that education for the masses took its origin out of the Reformation and the influence of the Renaissance. Hence it is with some surprise that we read: "We are now able to realise that the two centuries preceding the Reformation, at least, were a period in which facilities for education in England were wide-spread and practically open freely to all. The educational effect of the Reformation—even though undesigned—was to remove from the great mass of people the opportunities for attending school which had previously been available for them. It is also extremely probable that the significance of the Renaissance upon the educational development of this country has been considerably exaggerated; this, however, is a question which still awaits investigation."[1]

[1] Parry, *Education in the Middle Ages*, p. 244. This is a concise and scholarly work. The author shows that education passed through a cycle, not unlike that which we have witnessed since the Reformation. There was the

Such a new version might, as indeed it should, have the effect of making the present generations more appreciative of their cultural gains. It is instinctive in that it clearly demonstrates how easily the progress of centuries may be lost, and what a terrible price we pay in order to advance just a little.

Even if the new interpretation is accepted, it cannot change the facts that the present cycle of rising independence among the lower classes in England, as far as education is concerned, dates its beginning from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

During these centuries the ground-work was laid on which the conscious and active self-direction of the masses was able to take firm hold. It was not until the nineteenth century that class-consciousness reached a veritable state of self-awareness. A demand to direct the

period from the introduction of Christianity to the Norman Conquest. He makes clear how Christianity was the means by which education became possible for England. In the introduction he cites the dictum of Cardinal Newman: "Not a man in Europe who talks bravely against the Church but owes it to the Church that he can talk at all." Further, the author concludes that during the Anglo-Saxon period the activities of the Church "were essentially the activities of the State, and the work which was done for education might be conceived of, indifferently, as either the work of the Church or of the State." The second stage dates from the Norman Conquest. William I separated the Ecclesiastical from the Civil Courts. From that time up to the Reformation, Church and State were distinct in England. To quote again from our author: "This separation of Church and State resulted in a number of duties, other than those which were strictly spiritual, being tacitly regarded as being part of the function of the Church. The provision of educational facilities is included amongst these duties, and it was left to the Church to make such arrangements for the organization, maintenance, and control of education as she deemed fit." A third stage evolved when the social consciousness of the community (or rather part of the community) first realized that education was not a matter for the ecclesiastical authorities alone. The first manifestation of this in England occurred when teachers began to realize that they exercised a function distinct from the special functions of the priesthood and consequently proceeded to associate themselves in an organization for the protection of their common interests and thus initiated a movement which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Universities. At a later date, various economic developments produced certain social changes which not only made education an object of greater desire but also brought it about that wealthy merchants, guilds and civic communities, as well as Churchmen, took part in the work of providing additional facilities for the education of the people (p. 2). It would seem, then, that the independence of direction on the part of the masses, which has been asserting itself for more than a hundred years, had its prototype during the Middle Ages. The social and economic changes gave rise to the notion that education was not exclusively the function of the priesthood. The development of manufactures in the 15th century brought about the principle of divisional labour. This, in itself, was a stimulus to knowledge. We also note the rise of a capitalist class which accounts in part for the establishment of schools by Craft Guilds and voluntary associations. In short, we see here that the complexity of life became too great to be successfully managed by those who had only been trained for prayer and theological speculations. The independence which developed in the educational field during the Middle Ages seems to differ only in degree from the whole cycle which has marked its course since the Reformation. That the present cycle is taking hold of a much higher proportion of all people and exhibiting a much greater momentum is to be attributed to the improvements in the arts and not to any really new characteristic of human nature.

education of their own children is only one of the many phenomena of class-independence. It is this phase which forms the topic of our immediate interest.

It was the religious motive[1] which took first place in manifesting an interest in the education of the poor. The social problem of pauperism was always a close second. The Church had to do something in self-protection against the gross ignorance of the masses. The desire was everywhere present to find some way by which Society might be made better, and, at the same time, not to break with the established order. The prayer which was in daily use in the Charity School in Sheffield may well illustrate the point in question: "Give me Grace I beseech Thee, O my God, to live this day as in Thy Sight, and to do always such things as please Thee. Make me dutiful and obedient to my Benefactors and charitable to my Enemies. Make me temperate and chaste, meek and patient, just and true in all my dealings, content and industrious in my station."[2]

Contentment and subserviency has been the slogan of the Church and ruling classes in every age. We are not unmindful of the many exceptions, but that does not alter what has been the prevailing tendency. On the subject of Charity Schools we read: "The object even of such liberal Churchmen as Butler was now to keep the poor in their place, to teach their children the rudiments and the catechism, while discouraging them from any attempt to rise above their station. Preaching a charity-school anniversary sermon at St. Paul's, Bishop Butler himself said: 'The design (of these institutions) was not in any sort to remove poor children out of the rank in which they were born, but keeping them in it, to give them the assistance which their circumstances plainly called for, by educating them in the principles of religion as well as of civil life; and likewise making some sort of provision for their maintenance, under which last I include clothing them, giving them such learning as may qualify them for some common employment, and placing them out to it as they grow up.' These objects the system was only too successful in accomplishing. It did something towards making the ignorant despise Dissent and welcome inequality; it enabled the Church to keep some hold upon the masses by doing a little for their more immediate welfare; but it becomes contemptible when we compare it with the ideals of modern educationists, or with the civic spirit that designed Christ's Hospital and Grammar School in Tudor times—an institution which indeed rescued foundlings and fed, clothed, and taught the poor, but if they were worthy sent them to the University as well. These Charity Schools, founded 'on a conception of education partly religious and party feudal, but

[1] For a splendid account of the rise of education in England, and especially the rôle played by various societies, the reader is referred to *Elementary Education*, by Robert Gregory, D.D., who was Dean of St. Paul's and Treasurer of the National Society.

[2] Quoted from Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, p. 8.

almost wholly ignoble and humiliating,' have often lasted down to our own day, and some of them now give a low grade of secondary education. Their scholars still wear a distinctive dress, meant to remind them of their rank as recipients of public benevolence, but occasionally serving the more useful purpose of introducing a picturesque touch of colour and antiquity into the bleak and drab monotony of our modern towns."[1]

The Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England, even to this day teaches the learner to say, in response to the question: "What is my duty towards my neighbour?"—"To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. . . and to do my duty in that state of life to which it shall please God to call me." This forms part of the religious instruction in all the Elementary Schools under the Church of England. The number of pupils in these schools in 1914 was 1,848,889.

The Churches, including those of the Catholic and the various Protestant sects, have done much towards alleviating misery and poverty. Also, there would be few who would wish to minimize a just homage for services rendered in educating the poor. Our criticism lies in the excessive price which is always charged. Up to the present, the Churches have always demanded the *imprisonment of not only the intellectual but also of the emotional functionings of the mind.* They do something for the immediate welfare, and in turn demand contentment in inequality. The masses are to be aided in acquiring a certain amount of knowledge, but must not doubt the directing capacity of their leaders over the whole range of life. Because the Church could not find a way by which leadership might be retained and yet allow the exercise of the highest potentialities, it has passed everywhere into decline as an agent in directing education. Where it still holds undisputed supremacy in educational matters, as in Spain, education is miserably retarded.[2] The Church domination of education is feudal. Its very conceptions can hardly be harmonized with democratic growth and direction.

The Church is not the only organization that fears independent action. We have seen that certain commercial and industrial groups in America are anxious to encourage an education that will produce efficient workmen, but they are lukewarm, and even actively opposed, to the extension of educational facilities that are truly liberalizing—especially to scientific instruction regarding taxation, tariff, trusts and imperialistic policies.[3] The writer thinks he has observed a feeling akin to this among some of the English upper class groups. They show an apparent fear lest labour should make a concerted effort

[1] Quoted from Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 20.

[2] Out of the 34,000 Spanish communes more than 10,000 have no school of any kind, either public or private. After only two decades under a new form of government, the Philippine Islands can already boast of a higher literacy than Spain.

[3] See Roman (F. W.), *La Place de la Sociologie dans l'Education*, ch. IX.

to rise out of its ranks. The exceptionally interested and sympathetic attitude which so many of the better-situated in life take toward adult education[1] is a case in point. First, it must be remembered that the English of the upper classes are thorough-going patriots. They really want England to succeed and they cannot be charged with having any ill-will toward labour or toward those who occupy inferior positions. They recognize that if they themselves are to hold high places in the world, and if England is to be really powerful among the nations, it is incumbent that the masses also should be strong This explains why the more fortunate in life favour adult-education, or any other improvement that will add to the strength of the labouring-classes. But how shall we explain that the same individual who is so enthusiastic about adult-education should express himself with the greatest indifference regarding the Fisher Act, or seem to actually oppose any definite steps that would bring about greatly improved opportunities for education between the ages of fourteen and eighteen when children could really make something of their lives?

Now one explanation of this is the uncertainty as to what the consequences of such a highly improved state of education among the masses might be. It is just possible that the latter might want to contest the posts now held by the governing classes. However, an interregnum after the period of elementary education would break the hope or even desire of "wanting to rise," and confine it to a "wanting to do well" in an occupation already chosen. No one has any objection to this latter aspiration; on the contrary, it is regarded as laudable and worthy of capitalistic encouragement.

The reader notes that we are engaged, at this instant, in sketching the various influences and sources that made the awakening of class-consciousness possible. The pioneers were moved by a feeling of stewardship with regard to the destiny of the souls of others in the hereafter; also by the fear that unless something were done to counteract vice and ignorance they themselves would be likely to perish by the rash and capricious violence of the mob. Then, too, the humanitarian motive was deep and powerful: "It must needs pity any Christian heart to see the little dirty infantry which swarms up and down the alleys and lanes with curses and ribaldry in their mouths and other rude behaviours as if they were intended to put off their humanity and degenerate into brutes." (Marchamont Needham, 1663).[2]

Probably very few, if any, of those early champions of education for the poor dreamed that they were forging links in the chain that would finally be both long and strong enough to raise the masses to independence and responsibility. This larger view did find, at a later day, powerful advocates outside the labour groups. Such were, among others, Carlyle, Dickens and John Stuart Mill.

[1] The Adult Education Movement is enjoying a wave of prosperity, at present, in both England and Scotland.

[2] Quoted from Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 10.

Among the organizations which received substantial support from the liberality of philanthropic individuals, we mention the Parochial Charity School Movement, which, by 1750, was providing for the needs of 30,000 children.[1] There were also the Welsh Circulating Schools which, in 1777, numbered 6,000, with an enrolment of 300,000 pupils. In connection with these philanthropic movements should be mentioned the renowned Robert Raikes, founder of the Sunday School, 1784. As early as 1803 there were already over 7,000 Sunday Schools in Great Britain attended by over one million children. The universality of the practice which he instituted is the homage paid by the nations to his memory. Finally, there is the recognized interest in popular education arising out of the work of the two Wesleys and George Whitefield. These various religious and humanitarian school-projects were well under way a hundred years ago. To this day, they furnish the backbone for the Voluntary or Non-Provided Schools.[2] They still represent a large remnant of English elementary education, guided, in a great measure, by persons who send their own children to the Grammar and Public Schools; and thus the patrons of these Non-Provided Schools confess to a greater joy in wearing the yoke of direction than in responding to the thrill that must animate a community when it feels itself sufficiently developed to declare its majority.

Thus far, we have listed a group of agencies whose work has been of prime importance in raising the people to such a degree of intelligence and of confidence in their own capacity that, for three-quarters of a century, and in increasing numbers, they have been demanding self-direction in matters pertaining to the education of their own children. This is a result that was not consciously sought for by any large numbers of the promoters. The consequences were unforeseen by nearly all who were most active in organizing the schools.

More than one hundred years ago, England was subjected to influences calculated to accentuate an early declaration of independence in the very domain of education which the preceding pages have had under consideration. First among these comes French revolutionary thought.[3] A second, perhaps equally important, was the growing crystallization of opinion favouring State action in popular education. Students of economics and government are well aware of the enormous help that the writings of Adam Smith, Thomas Paine and Robert Malthus contributed toward political enlightenment and the democratization of education. Then there is a third influence which we shall style the English Socialistic Movement, founded by Robert Owen, whose influence on the labouring-classes of his own time and of the succeeding generation was far-reaching.

[1] For a complete statement of the work done by these various organizations the reader is referred to Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*; also to Gregory, *Elementary Education.*

[2] For statistics, see p. 30.

[3] See Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 20.

Even to-day a perusal of his ideas awakens admiration for one so earnest and advanced. His educational efforts represent only one of several important philanthropic waves which dominated the field of English education in the first quarter of the preceding century.[1]

The student of history knows that the Reform Bill of 1832 merely represents the crystallization into law of the changes brought about by the industrial revolution. From that time, the monopoly-power possessed by the land-owning aristocracy was broken. The centre of gravity in political power shifted toward the middle-classes. A further step was taken in 1867 when the second Reform Bill allowed the vote to the better-class artisan in the towns. In 1884, a further extension gave the vote to agricultural labourers in country-districts, and to nearly all men in towns. Since that time, the vote has been extended to all citizens, including women. These facts speak for themselves. The instruments of power, at least, are now completely in the hands of all the people. We shall now be concerned in learning what use the latter have made of these continually-added accretions of power. Among the numerous routes open to us, we shall choose to follow the extended control which the masses acquire in prescribing the policy under which their own children shall be educated. The long line of Education Acts show a slow but certain growth of the capacity of the people to manage their own affairs. The more important legislation took place during the years: 1833, 1839, 1846, 1853, 1862, 1870, 1876, 1891, 1902, 1906, 1910, 1914, 1918.[2]

A study of what took place at these successive dates provides evidence that the forces turned loose by the Industrial Revolution brought not only the political liberty of the Reform Bills, but a growing need and desire to become more completely responsible for the use of increased power.

The road that leads to the awakening of class-consciousness among the proletariat is long and arduous. Even that is only the beginning and not the end of the struggle. The goal commences to loom upon the horizon only when the toilers show signs of discerning that permanent gains can never be held for their group, except by a most comprehensive basis of education.

The real beginning was made in 1833, when education came to be regarded as a right of the people rather than as a charity. The new view was accentuated in all labour programmes after 1837. "In 1831, the labour movement may be said to have begun with the founding of

[1] For a detailed study of the philanthropic activities of the time, see Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, ch. II.

[2] For a detailed statement of all the legislation between the years 1833-1870 the reader is referred to *Reports on Elementary Schools*, by Matthew Arnold. The volume is edited by F. S. Marmin, M.A. (H.M. Stationery Office, London). The reader will be interested to know that Matthew Arnold was the son of the Arnold of Rugby. However, his own achievements in education will give him a permanent place in fame, without borrowing the glory attached to the name of his illustrious father.

the National Union of the Working Classes. Six years later Lovett, in an address to working men, was claiming popular education as a right derivable from society itself—an education that should offer to each the means of developing his capacities to the utmost."[1]

Carlyle said: "Who would suppose that education were a thing which had to be advocated on the ground of local expediency, or indeed on any ground? As if it stood not on the basis of everlasting duty as a prime necessity of man."[2]

Whatever else may be necessary to establish the idea suggested by the heading of this section, is furnished by John Stuart Mill: "It was education that was to bridge the gulf that separates men as they are from men as they might become. It was, however, much more than mere schooling. It included education in and through social duties. But popular education was necessary from another standpoint. According to him (John Stuart Mill) the ideally best form of government was that in which the sovereignty was vested in the entire aggregate of the community, and where every citizen was called upon occasionally to take his share in the actual work of the government by discharging some local or general public office. Universal education was an essential condition to this, and he went so far as to say that it was wholly inadmissible for any person to have a vote who was ignorant of at any rate the three R.'s."[3]

By the middle of the last century the doctrine that the people should rule was supported in England by a substantial and complete body of writings. The fate of the 1918 Education Act demonstrates that what has been thoroughly established in theory does not obtain in practice, even after the lapse of three-quarters of a century. We can report progress, but we are unable to acclaim that Democracy rules.

3. *A National System of Education is Established.*

England was the last among the great States to admit the principle of the necessity of State training. Up to 1870, education was left to private individuals and societies. Since 1833 there had been Parliamentary grants to certain organizations whose work was subject to State supervision. At that time it was admitted, on all sides, that the voluntary system was failing to meet the demands of the times. The strength of the State was being imperilled by a large number of the ignorant and uneducated. "In introducing the Elementary Education Bill, 1870, Mr. Foster estimated that about 1,450,000 children were on the registers of State-aided schools, with an average attendance of 1,000,000, but in the schools there were only two-fifths of the working-class children between 6 and 10 years of age, and only one-third between the ages of 10 and 12. In other words, there were one million children unprovided for between 6 and 10, and half a

[1] Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 65.
[2] Quoted from Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 66.
[3] Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 67.

million between 10 and 12 years of age. An investigation conducted the previous year had shown that a quarter of the children in Liverpool between the ages of 5 and 13 never entered school, while another quarter attended schools where the education was worthless. A similar state of affairs existed in Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham. It was to remedy this, ' to complete the voluntary system and to fill up the gaps,' that this Bill was intended. It rested on two principles, viz: that there should be efficient schools within the reach of all, and that, where such provision did not exist, it should be compulsorily provided.'"[1]

The Bill divided the country into School Districts and set up School Boards, whose duty it was to maintain Public Elementary Schools for children between the ages of 3 and 12, in those sections where voluntary effort was proving itself unable to meet the demand. The Act of 1876 extended the power to make attendance compulsory in districts not under School Boards, i.e. Voluntary Schools, and in 1880 it was made compulsory elsewhere.

The Act of 1891 abolished school-fees in the great majority of schools, and reduced them in most of the remainder. The Act of 1902 abolished School Boards and established "Local Education Authorities" everywhere.[2] This Act brought the Primary, Secondary and Higher Schools under the control of a single Authority.[3] The establishment of County High Schools began in earnest. Up to 1902 nearly all the money for secondary education was devoted to the boys, but now the girls began to receive almost equal consideration. The passage of children from the Elementary Schools to these Higher Schools was made much easier. "In 1906, some 23,500 scholarships were offered by local authorities for this purpose. In 1911-12 the number had risen to over 38,000. At this date—1920—nearly 50,000 boys and girls whose previous education had been received in elementary schools (representing 32.5 per cent. of the total number of secondary school pupils) were in receipt of free tuition."[4]

Our survey has shown that the standard of education among the masses is steadily rising, as is also the proportion of children in Secondary Schools who come from the Council Schools. To that degree, at least, barriers between the classes are being broken down.

Since the 1902 Act, one notes a decided interdependence among all types of schools. The effect is a strengthened position for the masses in their attack on all educational and political questions of the day. A definite movement toward group-action can be discerned. However, the co-ordination is still far from attaining that degree of intelligent understanding that would be necessary to make the masses

[1] Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, pp. 123-124.

[2] For detailed description of the system see p. 28.

[3] The "non-maintained" schools supported wholly by endowment are not subject to the Local Authority.

[4] Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, p. 174.

masters of their own fate. If that goal is to be attained, their education will have to be strengthened not only as regards the quantity learned, but also as regards the quality. In this latter respect it will have to undergo some very decided changes.

The administration and organization of the schools, the political power of the elementary teachers, and especially the passage of the 1918 Act, furnish abundant evidence that the former rulers of England feel the necessity of conceding some things to the people. In fact more has been granted than the people can hold permanently. In England, as in other countries, the present parties in power have made the discovery that, during the War, there had been a great deal of exaggeration regarding the power democracy would wield after the War.

The Governments are everywhere taking away, by stealth, with the left hand, what had been given, in broad daylight, with the right. For the moment reaction reigns. We have reason to believe that the pendulum must soon swing the other way. The people cannot be fooled always. However, as the school-system in England is organized and supported by both law and tradition there is no hope that, in the near future, the masses are going to obtain anything like their proportion of opportunity in the way of educational facilities, or the chance to compete for the important posts in political, industrial and commercial life. The fate of the Fisher Act for the last four years may be taken as a measure of the strength of the rival forces that are always present when the education of children is under discussion. The people must be promised much, high hopes are always in the foreground, but, owing to their lack of instruction and especially to the want of efficient organization and of a press to keep them correctly informed as to what is actually going on in the world, they can be made to submit to the acceptance of the minor share of the total product of toil.

Chapter II

THE SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1914

(*a*) The Board of Education

Great Britain and Ireland have an area of 121,633 square miles, of which 50,874 fall to England, 7,466 to Wales, 30,405 to Scotland, 32,586 to Ireland and the remainder to the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. The total population in 1911 was 45,516,239. Of this number 34,000,000 belonged to England, 2,000,000 to Wales and nearly 5,000,000 each to Scotland and Ireland.

Thus far our study has dealt with the forces that originate and direct the school-activities of England and Wales. Enough has been said to make it possible for us to bring into full view the entire educational structure as it existed in 1914.

Of all the schools that will come under our consideration, those of England are the least-organized and also the most difficult to explain. It is safe to say that the majority of the books extant, which attempt to explain their organization and its workings, would not give the American reader any clear picture of the conditions, the description of which would be regarded as essential to his adequate understanding of the situation. He would find the explanations involved the use of a list of new words, for which a technical glossary would be necessary. In order to present, in outline-form, the main characteristics, so that the foreigner will not be confused, it will be necessary to omit many details and numerous exceptions; although to gain this greater clearness, the danger is incurred of sacrificing accuracy through the omission of details.

The Central Authority for English education consists of the Board of Education, which is composed of the Minister of Education, who is President of the Board, five Secretaries of State, the First Commissioner of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is a creation upon paper, as the Board never meets. The Minister alone assumes the responsibility to Parliament and to the country. His office corresponds to a post in the Cabinet of an American President, the main difference being that the English Minister of Education usually, though not necessarily, holds a seat in Parliament.[1]

[1] Cabinet Ministers in the United States are not members of Congress.

The President of the Board introduces most of the school-legislation and makes the fight for the Budget. The Board has charge of the bulk of the school-expenditure voted by Parliament.[1] Its main control over the thousands of institutions in its domain seems to lie in the power of prescribing the codes under which the grants may be paid. A certain uniformity in local organization, teaching and inspection is secured by the publication of memoranda and suggestions. The Board is assisted by a very large staff of Civil Service appointees, known as examiners and inspectors. The former edit the educational reports, prepare the statistics and determine the amount of money to be apportioned to the schools.

The whole country is divided into nine areas, each of which has a separate provision for the three forms of education: Public Elementary Schools, Technical and Continuation Schools, Secondary and Preparatory Teachers' Centres. There are inspectors corresponding to the various sections.

(*b*) The Local Education Authority

The Local Authority is in the hands of the Councils of the Local Government areas, of which there are four types; Administrative Counties, County Boroughs, Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts. Immediately under the Council there is formed the Education Committee which has the direct charge of the schools. This Committee is composed of a certain number of the Council Members, with a certain representation chosen from the outside. The functioning of the Local Authority is well-illustrated by the work of the London County Council, which is the Local Authority responsible for promoting the general co-ordination of all forms of education within the County of London. Practically the whole of the elementary education in London is under the Council's control. In the various branches of higher education the Council is associated with several other Authorities, such as the University of London, the City Companies, the governing bodies of endowed Secondary Schools and the governing bodies of Polytechnics and Technical Institutes. In the promotion of the different forms of education it is the object of the Council to work in co-operation with the other agencies that are engaged in educational work, and to ensure that there is no over-lapping or duplication of effort. The Council works throughout in close association with the Board of Education.

All matters relating to the exercise of the Council's powers under the Education Acts, except the power of raising a rate or borrowing money, stand referred by Statute to the Education Committee of the Council; and the Council before exercising any such powers, unless in its opinion the matter is urgent, receives and considers the report of that Committee with respect to the matter in question. The Council

[1] For sums expended, see pp. 54-9.

may delegate to the Education Committee any of its powers under the Education Acts except the power of raising a rate or borrowing. This Committee is composed of fifty members (including nine women), of whom thirty-eight are members of the Council, and twelve co-opted members. The meetings of the Committee are open to the public and are normally held every Wednesday, except in vacation times, at the County Hall. Its powers and duties are distributed among nine sub-committees. It is assisted in the administration of elementary education by 184 statutory bodies of managers for Provided Schools, and 351 for Non-Provided Schools, and by advisory sub-committees for Training Colleges, Technical Institutes and Schools of Art.

The reader may not be clear as to the terms "Provided or Council Schools" and "Non-Provided or Voluntary Schools." The former are built and maintained by the Local Education Committee, under rights granted by the Council and the Board of Education. Each committee appoints managers, whose duty it is to visit the schools and make reports on conduct and discipline, appoint caretakers and grant work-certificates.

In the case of the "Non-Provided Schools," the buildings are maintained by private parties, usually some religious body. The salaries of all the teachers are paid out of the rates and Parliamentary grants, as in the case of the "Provided" schools.

Each school has six managers, one-third of whom are appointed by the Local Authorities; the remainder are Foundation Managers, who represent the Trust on which the foundation rests. They have more authority than have the managers of the Provided Schools. They appoint the head-teacher and prescribe the religious instruction. Over the secular education they have no real control. In practice, most of the duties and rights are exercised by the local clergyman.

Recently managers have been turning their attention to the physical care and medical treatment as well as the feeding of necessitous children.

There is still very little direct influence over either type of these schools by the parents. A school-visit from the father or mother of the child is almost unknown, except in the cities, and then only on prize-days. The working-classes are not conscious that they own the schools, to the degree that obtains in the United States, and as is beginning to be the case in Germany. Neither does the community take the pride in the local school, which is so often in marked evidence in America.

(*c*) The Elementary Schools

1. *Enrolment and Attendance*

All children, physically and mentally fit, between the ages of five and fourteen, were required to be in school according to the law in force before the 1918 Act became operative.

The following table[1] gives the number of scholars on the books in Public Elementary Schools on January 31, 1919, classified according to age:

Age on Jan. 31st, 1919.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
3 and under 4	28,184	20,914	44,098
4 ,, ,, 5	93,577	83,958	177,535
5 ,, ,, 6	293,265	281,508	574,773
6 ,, ,, 7	332,753	324,161	656,914
7 ,, ,, 8	330,347	323,742	654,089
8 ,, ,, 9	335,776	328,495	664,271
9 ,, ,, 10	341,992	333,966	675,958
10 ,, ,, 11	343,884	338,659	682,543
11 ,, ,, 12	329,577	325,001	654,578
12 ,, ,, 13	311,974	310,433	622,407
13 ,, ,, 14	214,263	226,264	440,527
14 ,, ,, 15	14,753	16,296	31,049
15 ,, ,, 16	1,797	2,094	3,891
16 ,, ,, 17	54	159	213
17 and over	15	30	45
Total	2,967,211	2,915,680	5,882,891

This table is of special interest because it represents the final picture, before the new 1918 Act and its recent makeshift-interpretations arising out of the "economy" cry had begun to operate. Children between the ages of three and five were permitted to attend, but this was not encouraged. At present, an effort is being made to discourage attendance before the age of six.[2]

The figures take no account of the Private or Secondary Schools. This explains in part the variations in numbers of the two sexes, both in the years at the beginning of school-life and those at its close. Parents are more anxious about the daughters in earlier years, hence more of them are sent to Private Schools. At twelve, the numbers are about even; after that, there is a larger attendance among the girls. Boys leave in greater numbers than do the girls to attend Secondary Schools. A still more important cause of this variation lies in the greater ease in getting employment for boys. The Local Authority had the right to grant work-exemptions. In some towns and agricultural districts full time-exemption was granted at thirteen, or twelve, and in certain backward regions even at eleven years.

The table is subject to still one other correction, which minimizes very materially the pre-War efficiency of the schools.

Probably between 70,000 and 80,000 of the numbers enrolled, between the ages of 12 and 14, attended only half-time. The textile counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire employed large numbers of

[1] See *Report of the Board of Education for* 1919-1920.

[2] See p. 57.

children under the age of 14. The greater number left before they had actually reached the full age of fourteen years.

The following is a table showing the proportion of schools and pupils belonging to the Council and the various religious bodies, in 1913 to 1914:

	No. of Schools.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	Average Number on Registers.
Council	8,556	4,252,885	3,323,320	3,741,911
Church of England ...	10,737	2,202,426	1,644,158	1,848,889
Wesleyan	189	57,279	43,735	50,057
Roman Catholic ...	1,105	391,867	304,086	349,265
Jewish	12			
Undenominational and others	465	103,088	68,731	77,759
Total	21,064	7,017,408	5,392,579	6,077,188

For the moment we call attention only to the decrease during the period of the War in the numbers on the registers as shown by the years 1914 and 1919.[1] Within the last few years we note an increased attendance at the Catholic Schools; however, there is a decline in the numbers at the other types of Voluntary Schools.

2. *Curriculum and Equipment*

The curriculum of the ordinary Elementary School is fixed largely by the code issued annually by the Board of Education, which, however, leaves great freedom to the head-master.

The ordinary subjects are religious instruction, arithmetic, geography, history, writing, English language, drawing, observation-lessons, nature-study, singing, hygiene, physical training, domestic subjects for girls, handicrafts or gardening for boys. It is not necessary that all these subjects be taught in a school or class, and the curriculum may be varied when the Board is satisfied that its modification is required by the needs of the scholars or the circumstances of the school, or is justified for the purpose of experiment. This liberty is not to be construed into meaning that it is possible to omit religious instruction. However, the manner in which this subject is taught varies from mere Bible reading to attempts to inculcate the most dogmatic doctrines. Of course, this latter statement could apply only to Non-Provided Schools. The foreigner, on arriving at any of the English Elementary Schools, asks to see the curriculum. He expects to be handed a booklet which contains the course of study for all the schools in the city. Instead, he is referred to a poster on the wall which represents the curriculum and time-table for that particular school; there may be no other one like it anywhere. The same freedom

[1] See p. 30.

obtains in a great measure regarding the selection of texts and methods of teaching. Perhaps the greatest single force leading to a certain uniformity in the subjects taught and in the methods used arises from the necessity of preparing certain of the children for scholarships, competitions for Secondary Schools, promotion into Central or Higher Elementary Schools, and entrance upon courses leading to Civil Service appointments in the Post Office and other Government posts.

The course of study is subject to the approval of the Government inspector. In actual practice there seems to be very little interference from that quarter. A strong master can carry out the most radical reforms. In general such freedom is not enjoyed in the United States. It is just the opposite of what obtains in France and what did prevail in Germany before the War.

Whereas there is abundant evidence for believing that large numbers of head-masters make good use of such wide powers, there is, on the other hand, an immense amount of "marking-time" going on in many schools. There is reason to believe that even a worse state prevails in Private Schools. The preparation of the teacher, especially in the Private Schools, is often far from efficient. But the main fault does not lie entirely with the teachers. English society has not yet sufficiently progressed to the point of honouring her elementary teachers to a degree that would stimulate their pride, and make them a rejuvenating power in the school-room and in the life of the community. English Secondary Schools have the unfortunate habit, found also in other countries, of looking down on the primary teacher.

Further, the work is often handicapped by schools that lack beauty and decoration; in some the seating is quite faulty. Even the progressive city of Manchester was, in 1921, buying seats without backs for its school-children. The writer holds the opinion that the elementary school-buildings and the general equipment of the school-rooms are considerably inferior to those in both the United States and Germany, but somewhat better than those in France.

However, in the matter of games and outdoor exercises the English school surpasses any of the three countries just mentioned. This, too, is subject to exceptions, since some schools have no access to playgrounds—a condition which the upper classes would never tolerate for their own children.

Play is regarded by the English as a high essential in the formation of character. On two half-days each week children may be taken to the public parks, where they can engage in organized games. Swimming is included as part of the regular curriculum. In Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, Birmingham and other large cities nearly all the boys and girls learn to swim during their Elementary School career. The number of teachers who seem to really enjoy participating in these games with the children is high. In this domain, as well as in others, the school-systems of other countries may learn profitable lessons.

Such are the outstanding impressions of the writer, after making visits to schools in varous parts of the country.

3. *The Central Schools*

These schools represent an advanced form of primary instruction. They are an attempt to give the older or brighter pupils in the Primary Schools a chance to obtain forms of higher instruction without transferring them to Secondary Schools.

In 1911, the London County Council organized a system of Central Schools which provide a four years' course with a special curriculum for boys and girls from the age of eleven. Pupils are admitted to these Central Schools from ordinary Elementary Schools on the basis of a physical and mental examination. The instruction, while being general, has a commercial and industrial bias, depending on the character of the district in which the schools are situated. The commercial course which seems to be more popular includes a foreign language, science (including laboratory-work), drawing, handicrafts for boys, housecraft for girls, shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, English history, geography, mathematics, singing and physical exercises. The industrial course is more or less in the experimental stage. The chief care is the development of industrial intelligence. History, geography and general subjects are the same as in the commercial course but are treated differently. The history and organization of industries and the influence of inventions invariably form part of a history-course. Practical work in science, drawing, clay-modelling, wood-work and metal-work form the basis for boys, and science, domestic economy, drawing and needle-work for girls. In the industrial course there is rarely any modern language. Central Schools are to a great extent London institutions. The total number organized in London up to the present is fifty, and it is proposed to carry the number up to sixty. Of these fifty, nine have an industrial bias. About ten-thousand children are enrolled at present. An additional ten-thousand could easily be secured if the schools were "provided."

The work is quite similar in grade and thoroughness to that done in an American industrial or commercial High School. These children are more serious and purposeful in their attitude toward their studies than are the American children, despite the fact that they are younger. Being a selected group accounts for this in part.

The criticism of this type of school arises from its having no provision whereby the capable and ambitious pupils can pass on to the higher schools. It is simply a "higher top" of elementary schooling. Its end is a blind alley. The Central Schools supply commerce and industry with a quota of skilled clerks and artisans. Their aim is the efficiency of the State, rather than an all-round development of the capacities and inclinations of the child. The 1918 Act[1] will correct this objection, when the law is once put into full operation. That will mean that England is making at least a beginning in opening the doors to talent, regardless of birth or fortune.

[1] See sections 2, 10, 32; pp. 69-82, respectively.

(*d*) Technical Education and Continuation Schools

1. *Origin and Aims*

Necessity led to this form of education. "Public concern as to industrial competition, which was excited by the exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, and intensified by the severe depression of trade and distress of 1884-6 may, without hesitation, be regarded as the source from which the technical education movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century derived its main strength. The Science and Art Department, though established a few years earlier, as a department of the Board of Trade, was in reality a product of the first exhibition. The great strides being made by manufacturing industries in Germany had caught public attention and were generally attributed to her system of technical education. The reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Education (appointed 1882) directed the public concern towards our own educational defects and prepared the way for the Technical Instruction Acts and the schemes of the polytechnics."[1] Germany had commenced her system of technical and commercial education after the Napoleonic wars.[2] The poverty and famine in the earlier part of the last century gave the stimulus to education in that country. Fifty years later, her progress and industry were exciting both the concern and admiration of neighbouring States. This was one cause, among others, that led to the training for industry in England.

However, the German method of making knowledge effective has never found much acceptance in England. As is known, the Germans set out to strengthen the industries directly. They trained everybody. Scientific stations were established for all the chief industries. Technical information was provided for all—the apprentice, journeyman, and employer—and these turned their newly-acquired knowledge into immediate profit. The English method has followed the policy of instructing the individual rather than of assuming the responsibility for the success of any of its industries. "Aid was to the individual: whether he transformed the aid into assistance to an industry depended on the student and his opportunities, and not on the technical school. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that outside the schools, a great work of direct technical education is carried on by means of exhibitions, congresses, trade journals and advisory bodies of all kinds."[3] "The movement was headed not by manufacturers and merchants, but by educational reformers; a highly developed and complex industrial and commercial system had been built up by the energy and intelligence of individual as distinct from national effort, and only a catastrophe could have prepared the

[1] *Report on Technical Education and Continuation Schools*, December, 1912, p. 2.

[2] Roman, F. W., *Industrial Schools of the United States and Germany*, pp. 35 and 36.

[3] *Report on Technical Education and Continuation Schools*, December, 1912, p. 11.

way for any great sudden change. In spite of the work of the Royal Commission on technical education it could hardly be said that a national policy was thought out on a scientfic plan. There was a flood of information as to what was being done elsewhere; public feeling had to find relief; some money was forthcoming; and Local Education Authorities took up the work, frequently with enthusiasm, and often, as was necessarily the case, under indifferent advice. Buildings were erected, students came (whether the right kind or not did not matter) and teachers, no doubt the best that Local Authorities could find, began work. And in spite of much wastefulness of money and of much wide-spread and all-advised, if not ignorant, teaching on technical subjects (e.g., agriculture), a system of schools has grown up which has done an amount of useful work. The schools have taken a set on the indirect lines; but their teaching seeks after and is gradually gaining the confidence of industry and commerce to-day. All institutions value the co-operation of trade, industry and commerce, and a good many actively seek for it. All now understand that technical instruction cannot supersede, and that it can only supplement, the factory, the workshop and the counting-house, and, as a rule, details of buildings, equipment and teaching have in recent years been based on this principle.'"[1]

In England the schools grew into the industries, and in Germany out of them. The difference is significant as showing a trait which makes a distinguishing mark between the two peoples in many phases of life.

2. *The English Method of Meeting the Practical Situation*

The inadequacy of the apprenticeship-system has been making itself felt in England as elsewhere for more than fifty years. Slowly, and far in the rear of this ever-widening demand for types of education that will enable the English youth to give the full measure of their mental and physical power to the nation, there were established, through private initiative and the encouragement of industrial and commercial bodies, various types of what may be called Practical Schools.

It was not until the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 that the first important Parliamentary action was taken, which gave Local Authorities (County and Town Councils) the power to raise a penny-rate. In 1890, Parliament distributed money which had been originally collected as excise duties to the Local Authorities for technical education.

In 1910-1911 there were in England 36 Technical Institutions, 110 Day Technical Schools, 218 Art Schools, 48 separate art classes, and 7,422 Evening Schools. In addition to this there was the technical instruction given in the Agricultural Colleges. In general it may be said that before the beginning of the Great War, England had some

[1] *Report on Technical Education and Continuation Schools*, December, 1912, p. 12.

very fine Technical Schools, but the number was wholly inadequate to meet the demands of her industry and population. That she was far behind Germany in this respect is attested by her own education reports.

The reader will note that most of this Continuation School work was carried on in the evenings. The holding of classes at the close of a long day has disadvantages that are well-recognized everywhere. However, it must be said that England can show greater success in sustaining interest in evening-classes than is the case in most other countries. Even at this present date, the foreigner is happily impressed by seeing what deep interest and apparently fairly good results can be secured by sessions between 6 and 10 o'clock in the evening.

In 1910-1911 the figures for London were as follows:[1]

" (i) In the polytechnics	25,000	evening students
(ii) In maintained technical institutes and schools of art ...	10,000	
(iii) In commercial centres... ...	30,000	
(iv) In ordinary evening schools.	100,000	
(v) In other institutions—University, King's, East London College and the School of Economics; technical colleges such as Finsbury, important institutions like the Working Men's College, Morley College, Y.M.C.A. settlements, clubs and other organizations	30,000	(estimated)
Approximate enrolment ...	195,000	

It is estimated that the proportion of boys and men to women and girls is as 3 to 2."

We submit a part of the Report of 1910 made by Mr. S. E. Bray, District Inspector of Schools: "It is, of course, not possible to secure regularity of attendance in evening schools at all comparable with that which obtains in public elementary day schools. It has always to be borne in mind that evening school attendance is voluntary; that in most cases it has to be made after the fatigue of a day's work; that as a rule the ordinary conditions of labour in London necessitate employees working to a late hour and at certain periods of the year the employees in many trades are called upon to work overtime, or to work away from home; that the

[1] *Report on Technical Education and Continuation Schools*, December, 1912, p. 60.

student's home, his place of business and the evening school are often far apart, and that the evening schools are open during that part of the year in which the worst weather is experienced. Add to these causes ill health, the ups and downs of employment, the attractions and distractions of London, and it will be seen that, even if the organization of the schools were beyond criticism, and the teaching thoroughly efficient and attractive, the evening schools would have very great difficulties to contend with in order to secure reasonably good attendance. It is only fair to add that London enrolls in its evening institutions a larger proportion of the population than any other large city in England, and that the regulations defining a registered attendance (which are the attendances referred to) are strict and strictly carried out by the staff. A considerable proportion of effective students miss the first marking owing to late business hours. All these factors tend to make the tale of ineffectives look larger than it may in reality be. But an exhaustive examination of the subject has shown that, when all due allowances are made, the attendance must be regarded as very unsatisfactory; and that this defect of the evening school system must in large measure be attributed to the want of persistence on the part of the students, and to their abuse of regulations which are not only liberal in themselves but are usually interpreted with much sympathy towards their likings and failings. Of the 130,000 enrolments in the evening schools it is advisable to regard only some 90,000 as representing effective and serious students. This is a most serious matter. Nearly one-third of the students—40,000 out of 130,000—are ineffective. The students themselves develop the bad habit of non-persistence. Their enrolment and subsequent withdrawal destroys classes wholesale, rendering useless the efforts and organization provided for their instruction and spreading want of confidence among the staff as to the value of all or any efforts. Further, the class registers show that, even in the case of many classes which survive, the personnel of the classes changes so much that all class teaching becomes impossible and that good students suffer and become indifferent. To most responsible teachers, and, to a less extent, to many assistants, evening class work represents one continual struggle against poor attendance during the greater part of the session, and thus energies which might otherwise be directed into purely educational channels are partly dissipated in the struggle with idle or indifferent students. It is a struggle to preserve the attendance at a satisfactory level, and thus keep the classes alive. It is this continually anxious effort that makes evening school work so arduous and discouraging. It is the professional teacher who is best able, as a rule, to cope with this phase of evening education; and hence responsible masters and mistresses are almost invariably drawn from professional ranks. It is quite possible that less solicitude for mere attendance and more optimism as to programme of work, presentation of subjects, and general class management might secure better attendance as a by-product. But the subject of poor attendance is an old and a very difficult one, and there is a strong body of opinion that nothing

short of compulsion will successfully cope with the 40,000 ineffectives. But there is some compensation in one very good feature, viz., the character of the age limit. The school records permit of these being expressed in three groups only. Between 14 and 17 years of age there are some 49,000 students, between 17 and 21 some 36,000 and there are some 44,000 over 21.''[1]

This information is typical for all countries. It seems to prove that Society dare not allow the acquisition of at least the minimum of knowledge necessary for intelligent citizenship to be subjected to the uncertainties of voluntary attendance. Since no school-system can give this minimum before children have completed their fourteenth year, it means some form of compulsory attendance after that age.

3. *The Printing Trades*

The printing-trades afford an excellent insight into the educational conditions as they existed in England before the War, and make possible certain interesting comparisons with Germany. '' The total numbers of persons engaged in paper and printing trades—paper, prints, books and stationery—in England and Wales in 1901 were 188,057 males and 90,900 females. London's proportion is roughly one-third of all the male workers in this group of trades. More than one-third of the printers and lithographers of England, and about one-half of the book-binders are employed in London.''[2] The methods adopted by some different firms for training their apprentices or allowing them to learn the trade are set out below. These views may be taken as typical of the industry. Some firms require and some encourage their apprentices to attend technical classes, but it is clear that while technical training is not general, it is essential for those who desire to become skilled workmen or anything more than mere mechanics. The views of employers and foremen are generally coloured by their own early experiences in learning the trade. They frequently fail to recognize that the only training available thirty years ago is not good enough for present-day conditions, and that the experience they have acquired as they have grown with the trade is required from workers now at a much earlier stage in their careers. A higher standard of knowledge and skill is demanded early and a better system of training is consequently required now than was formerly the case. It will be seen that the old idea of apprenticeship by which the master was required to see that his apprentice was properly and thoroughly taught has almost entirely disappeared. The onus of securing a training now rests most frequently with the boy. He is apt to be regarded as being sufficiently privileged in having an indenture and being named apprentice.

[1] *Report on the Technical Education and Continuation Schools,* December, 1912, p. 61.

[2] *Report on the Training and Employment in the Printing Trades,* March, 1914, p. 5.

"METHOD OF TRAINING IN SOME DIFFERENT FIRMS."

"A man (paid 42s.) teaches a number of boys."
"Taught by men with whom they work."
"Assist journeymen and learn gradually."
"Taught by a competent workman under whom he learns all kinds of composing."
"Put under good man and supervised by foreman."
"Under supervision of employer."
"Put on a frame with good compositor."
"Works under a different journeyman every year so as to be all round; supervised by overseer."
"Picks it up, supervised by overseer."
"Work with good men at varied work."
"Learns by practice."
"Given both practical tuition and, if they ask, books on the trade."
"Apprentices have no advantages over other boys, they must pick it up for themselves. The journeymen usually treat them fairly, as it pays them, but responsibility for apprentices has been handed over to technical schools."
"Learn by helping and watching, men are too jealous to teach them."

"Attendance at Technical Classes is generally regarded as useful and helpful. The number of firms who are definitely opposed to this form of education is probably very small indeed, but the number who actively require attendance is a small proportion of the total. The methods of encouragement, other than requiring attendance, are:—advice, payment of fees, supply of books and time allowed off for attendance. A considerable number of firms adopt one or more of these methods, and afternoon classes are conducted at the Aldenham Institute, the Borough Polytechnic, and the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts for those allowed to leave in the afternoon, while early evening classes are conducted at the St. Bride Institute."[1]

The reader is asked to note how the English situation compared with that of Germany. We are fortunate in being able to present a summary prepared by one of England's best-recognized authorities. The citation is taken from Mr. J. C. Smail's report to the London County Council in March, 1914. He was the organizer of Trade Schools for boys. Each one of the eight sentences in which he characterized the German conditions in 1914 furnishes a rich domain for reflection:

"(1)—The keen interest which exists through the agencies of the guilds, the important part they have played in developing technical education, and the general co-operation of employers.

[1] *Report on the Training and Employment in the Printing Trades*, March, 1914, pp. 12-13.

(2)—The value of compulsory continuation education for boys up to eighteen years of age, and the importance of giving technical training to all workers, the value of compulsory technical education as an integral part of the solution of the apprenticeship problem.

(3)—The influence of drawing and general education in the training provided.

(4)—The significance of a whole institution of the highest rank—the Royal Academy of Graphic Arts in Leipzig—devoted entirely to printing and book production.

(5)—The movement to provide technical schools entirely devoted to printing and book production in Berlin and Leipzig, to replace the existing detached efforts.

(6)—Germany is spending more money per head than Britain on this form of education, and with the system in force the expenditure is more economical and efficient.

(7)—The importance of properly trained teachers for trade and general education subjects.

(8)—The importance of the very best and most modern equipment to maintain technical schools in their proper place; the importance of judiciously scrapping out-of-date equipment.''[1]

4. *Comparisons with Germany and France*

Mr. Smail prepared another report in 1914 on the "Trade and Technical Education in France and Germany." We quote from the general statement which heads the report. The writer has been informed that the statement which follows below had the full endorsement of three other world-known English authorities on European education. "In the gradual evolutions of systems of technical education in France, Germany and Britain there has been much interchange of thought and ideas during the past thirty years. The ideals controlling the systems evolved appear, however, to differ radically at the present time, and in consequence these systems, as yet in no case completely developed, show wide divergence in curricula and methods of organization. Germany aims at the building up of a great industrial nation partly by the thorough training of the leaders as experts, partly by the training of middle-grade workers, such as draughtsmen and foremen, as thoroughly accurate and careful managers, and partly by the training of all grades of workmen and mechanics as skilled craftsmen and good citizens. France aims at industrial excellence partly by the training of highly skilled experts and partly by the training of those who should become the best workmen and the best foremen. Britain aims at individual excellence partly by offering many avenues and many chances for willing and persevering workers to climb all sections of the industrial ladder. Each of these aims contains much good; no one of them is complete. Britain by

[1] *Report on the Training and Employment in the Printing Trades*, March, 1914, p. 26.

reason of its exceptional advantages, makes the most strenuous call upon its individuals for the advancement possible for them. It is necessary to bear these ideals in mind in considering any organization for technical education, for while these ideals have probably not been expressed, their influence has undoubtedly been behind the progress made. The German ideal may be termed the long view, which must eventually lead the German nation to and maintain it in a foremost place as an industrial world power. The British method may be regarded as more philanthropic than patriotic; the ideal is admirable but the bulk of the nation's workers are not catered for by this ideal and on the bulk of the workers much of the material prosperity of a nation must depend."[1]

The whole report is introduced by a statement by Sir Robert Blair, Education Officer. In the opinion of the writer there is really nothing that one could add in the way of completeness, impartiality and breadth of view in dealing with the education of England, France and Germany. If the reader has fully grasped the content and spirit of these English reports, he will be well-fitted for an appreciation of studies on European education since the Great War.

Sir Robert Blair said: "It will be remembered that last year the Council decided that Mr. Smail should visit Paris, Munich, Leipzig and Berlin. This visit did not form Mr. Smail's first acquaintance with technical education in France and Germany. Mr. Smail had also the advantage of consultation at every point with an officer of experience and judgment from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction of Ireland. Further, in each city the greatest facilities were afforded to Mr. Smail and his companion by the authorities concerned. The Chief Inspector who has within recent years spent considerable time in Hamburg, Lübeck, Charlottenburg, Frankfort and Berlin, fully confirms Mr. Smail's observations. The facts and observations set out in the report (especially those relating to Germany) deserve the most serious consideration. The Paris professional Trade Schools are training foremen, leaving these to train the workmen in the shops, whereas the German Continuation Schools supplement apprenticeship and are aiming at the uplifting of every man in his fourfold aspect of member of his trade, member of his family, member of the community and member of the State. It will be observed in Germany how the State, the Municipality, the employed and the employer, have all come to believe in education of all types, including compulsory continuation education. German belief in education has derived its strength from the period of reconstruction after Jena and from the extraordinary industrial and commercial developments since 1870. The State and the parents have adopted the long view, the former in looking forward to the ultimate value of the work of the schools, and the latter in foregoing the immediate wage returns of their children for future prospects. In

[1] *Report on Trade in Technical Education in France and Germany*, March, 1914, p. 5.

Berlin, Munich, Leipzig and other towns the organized efforts of the State and the Municipality are reaching every boy (and in a few cases every girl), in a way that would hardly be credited in England but for the fact that experienced officers have seen it in operation. Continued education in England still follows the plan of *laissez-faire* or 'go-as-you-please.' Germany possesses a national organization for definite national objects. The British method makes the best top; it also produces the worst tail, and it does not do much for the general raising of the great mass of workers. It must not be forgotten that the London evening-student on the average makes 50 hours' attendance per session, while the German boy makes 240. The German boy must take three or four years' continuation course, the English boy may take as much as he pleases, and 75 per cent. between 14 and 17 either cannot or do not please even for one year. The German schoolmaster in the Continuation School has a great advanage over the London schoolmaster. The German can turn all his energy to his teaching and to improvement of his syllabus of instruction. The London schoolmaster is greatly concerned with enrolment and attendance. Practically all the energy—and it is great—put into securing enrolment and attendance in England is in Germany set free for other purposes.'"[1]

Since the above was written the world has experienced the tragedy of the Great War. All educational systems were put to the test. The German policy of education, more than the others, showed both its strength and its shortcomings. It is the system that offers the world the most illuminating lessons on both what to take and what to avoid. Unfortunately for civilization the nations seem, in the present hour of reaction, bent upon pursuing a system of educational tactics which appears destined to cultivate some of the very weaknesses which brought Germany to her fall.

5. *The Impending Difficulties*

In these after-War days technical education demands a very special consideration. The War has either changed or disorganized the industries in all countries. The immense destruction of material alone calls for immediate reconstruction and this in turn puts a very special problem upon all Technical Schools. Further, the War created new industries, some of which will not be able to survive competition after the channels of trade have once more been opened. Two alternatives present themselves: shall these industries be supported through a protective tariff or shall technical education be encouraged to such an extent that they can be put on an economic basis, sufficiently powerful to enable them to fight their own battles? The educator will not be long in deciding the question, but the politician as usual will debate the possible means of retaining power with the people, and the route which he chooses may not be the course

[1] *Report on Trade in Technical Education in France and Germany*, March, 1914, p. 1.

which provides the maximum service for the masses. In addition the War has imposed several very real barriers which will be hard to surmount. Technical education is costly. It will require considerable sacrifice to erect the buildings and equip them with suitable apparatus. The death-toll among technical teachers during the War was very high in all countries. To replace them will be difficult, and in some cases impossible for a long time to come. The whole problem of technical and commercial education raises many interesting questions in relation to the Fisher Act. We are told by Mr. R. H. Tawney, one of England's best present-day authorities on adult-education, that 90 per cent. of the 2,500,000 young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 are receiving no kind of education.[1] The well-known Professor Gilbert Murray in an address on "The League of Nations and International Education" delivered at University College, London, in January, 1922, quoted the figures from Lord Haldane, which indicated that only 5 per cent. of England's children over fourteen years of age are at school.

Also, complaint is made that a too-large percentage of children reach the age of fourteen in a state of preparation which is quite inadequate for profitable pursuance of technical courses.

We make a summary taken from a high English authority who tells us that the elementary education in England is not sufficiently thorough to warrant the proposed expenditures on technical education. He calls attention to the alarming ignorance prevailing among children between the ages of 14 and 18.

That a lack of fundamental information exists is proved by the results of examinations in arithmetic, composition, geography and general knowledge. The observations cover a period of twenty years,[2] and are further-substantiated by other competent observers. When we compare this situation with that in other countries we find that just such a report was made for Prussia and the German States generally fifty years ago;[3] and a similar report was made for the United States about fifteen years ago.[4]

And what is true for England now would be true for France in an even more marked degree. No doubt, then, one of the first results of the movement to establish this national scheme of technical education in England will be that it is followed by a great improvement in the Elementary Schools. If such should be the case it will only be in line with the German and American experience. Special complaint is made that the work in the evening-classes, in the Elementary and Secondary Schools, is not meeting with the expected success. "In

[1] Tawney (R.H.), *Secondary Education for All*, p. 15.

[2] "I am, therefore, from an experience of over twenty years, compelled to say that, with this material to commence with, technical education will never be efficient, economical and successful."–C. L. Eclair Heath, *Education*, p. 54.

[3] Roman (F. W.), *Industrial and Commercial Schools of the United States and Germany*, pp. 32-60.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 266-303.

many cases, employers, finding the products of such schools lacking in the knowledge they expected them to possess at 19 or 20 years of age, condemn technical education generally, take away what support they originally gave to 'further' education and complain of the taxes for its cost."[1] It should be borne in mind that our authority is not discussing the work of Special Technical Schools and Junior Technical Schools. The present system does not provide for sufficient variety of choice. The result is that each year's classes are loaded down with a large number of unappreciative and undeserving students. "The extremely large percentage of leakages each year, after fifteen years of age, is in a very great measure due to the lack of desire on the part of the students for which no system could provide an antidote or stimulant. It may be found on careful analysis that between 30 and 40 per cent. of evening students, who have enrolled during the last 10 or 15 years, have made little or no attempt to profit by the instruction given, although adequately qualified. If the whole of youth at this age were compelled to attend it would very possibly be found that 50 per cent. were being provided for unnecessarily and that thousands of pounds would be wasted annually in large districts, which, if spent upon the better training of the willing pupil, would result in far greater efficiency."[2] The great majority of the population requires technical education. "With the exception of a few professions, there is hardly a man or woman between 16 and 21 who is not engaged in some calling or pursuit for which technical education should be provided. Yet how few are the schools in which any provision is made for a student to train in the special subject of his daily work other than for some branch of engineering, the chemical trades and perhaps one or two departments in the building trades. Even in these, in how few cases are facilities provided for students desirous of working out any ideas they have for the development of their trades, or for manufacturers to have experiments made for which the skill of a technically educated man or woman is necessary and which could be far better done in a technical college than in a factory."[3]

As we have noted elsewhere we may fully anticipate that the Education Act of 1918 will soon correct some of the greater evils of which our authority complains, and if the Act is ever executed in the full spirit evinced by its present form it will ensure a comprehensive treatment of all forms of child and adolescent life in the spirit of advancing democracy.

[1] Eclair Heath (C. L.), *Education*, Jan. 14, 1921, p. 54.

[2] Eclair Heath (C. L.), *Education*, January 14, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 62.

Chapter III

THE FISHER ACT OF 1918

(*a*) The Idealism Liberated by the War finds Expression in Law

The educational aspirations expressed in Great Britain during the War were very similar to the ideas enunciated in France (Part II, Chap. III), ... but we shall see that in both these countries the educational thought of the War period presents the greatest possible contract with the opinions current in Germany. It can be shown that the educational writings and University addresses in all three of these countries reflected in a very high degree the position of the armies on the battle-front. The German statements are most clear on this point.[1] During the early years of the War, the German educator took great encouragement from the fact that the armies of his country stood on foreign fields. To him a great German victory seemed a fact that was not to be questioned. In consequence there was no feeling that there was any necessity for changing national ideals, much less the school-system. The words of Dr. Kerschensteiner, one of Germany's leading educationists, and certainly the best-known in America, expressed the sentiment which is typical of all Germany, in the following words:— "After the War we shall be under the necessity of developing more fully not only our military power, but also our moral forces."[2] German school-men were quite well satisfied with themselves during the War. In so far as changes were to be undertaken, these were conceived to be additions and extensions of what already existed rather than any uprooting of principles which, up to that time, had served them so well. The question that arose for them was this: "What form shall the school-system take after the happy ending[3] of the War has been reached?"[4]

From all this sentiment English and French opinion of these same years shows the widest divergence. English and French writings breathe the spirit of a hope and a faith that justice will prevail. Their thoughts, as we read them now, reveal clearly that they emanate from

[1] See *Die deutsche Höhere Schule nach dem Weltkriege.*

[2] *Ibid,* p. 161.

[3] As in the Allied Countries, the War was bringing rich blessings to the people. The schools must lose no time in conserving for the generations yet unborn, the rich moral treasures that were being garnered through the terrible conflict at the front, and the dire sacrifices behind the lines. All countries were fully convinced that the War was making them a much better people. The Germans were even surer of this than the Allies. (See *Die deutsche Höhere Schule nach dem Weltkriege.* This book appeared in 1916. It consists of a compilation of writings by twenty-five well-known German educationists). To-day nobody believes that, and the Germans least of all.

[4] See preface of *Die deutsche Höhere Schule nach dem Weltkriege.*

the minds of individuals who had experienced great anxiety and the deepest misgivings as to the justice that had been meted out to the millions then being asked to save the country. Writers did not express this sentiment directly, but that they were moved by it, and perhaps we may say in a large measure unconsciously, seems not to be doubted. The evidence lies in the idealistic promises which they made to themselves and to those at the front, that if they were allowed to see the day of victory, they would plan and carry into complete execution an educational organization that would ensure a greater liberty and a richer life for all the descendants of those who were at that time making untold sacrifices and showing themselves in a thousand ways worthy of the best that the human mind could imagine.[1] There is nowhere any evidence to show that they were preparing to admit they were going to lose the War, but it was also clear that they were in no position to give such conclusive evidence as were their German contemporaries as to how they were going to win it. Their frame of mind was not one of boasting nor of extended praise of what they had done educationally in the past. They were thinking mostly of the future and of the reforms they would make as soon as the immediate pressure of the hours through which they were passing lifted and gave opportunity. In support of this statement we submit the following paragraph:—

"Some time about the third year of the war, the people of this country, for their comfort and encouragement, began to plan a new and better Britain. The official designation of the new Britain was a Land fit for Heroes. In this land, according to the politicians, who made themselves the spokesmen of the national desire, the great body of the people were to enjoy a better life than they had done in pre-war times. Their wages and their conditions of work were no longer to be settled by strikes and lock-outs, but by conference of masters and men in joint councils with binding powers. The feebler workers, including farm-labourers, were to be saved from exploitation by trades boards. Eight-hundred-thousand houses were to be built in order that even the poorest might have decent and healthy homes. Agriculture was to be improved by the application of scientific knowledge, and the yield of the land increased for the benefit of all. Vigorous measures for the promotion of public health were to help banish plagues, such as tuberculosis, and to raise the standards of national hygiene. And at the foundation of this noble structure was to be a scheme of education extending the care of the State for its young people through the adolescent years, and training them in the added period of schooling to be more efficient workers, more intelligent citizens, and more complete human beings. In those days we spoke lightly of the cost of our grand schemes. When the Master of Balliol talked of an educational Budget of a hundred millions a year as absolutely essential, it did not seem an overwhelmingly large sum. The War had accustomed us to

[1] For the support of these ideas, the reader is referred to the speeches made by the President of the Board of Education, August 10, 1917, when he introduced the Bill into the House of Commons. Further arguments of the same character are developed in his addresses at Manchester, Liverpool and Bradford, September 25th, October 2nd and November 2nd, 1917.

seeing millions vanishing into the air with every round of the clock; and with the logic of sentiment we argued that if we could afford to spend so freely on the work of destruction, there was no reason for needlessly restricting expenditure in the worthier work of reconstruction. Perhaps we ought to have seen that it was bad logic. But we did not. And neither seemingly did our political leaders. In token of their faith in the ideals born of the War, they put on the statute book various measures for the new Britain, and notably the Education Acts of 1918."[1]

(*b*) The Act summarized

1. *Organization of Education*

From the first of these pages up to the present, we have aimed to give such a setting to the English educational ideas and their development as would enable the reader to appreciate best the great reforms in education after the War. A summary of the Education Act of 1918[2] follows. For the purpose of making reference to the Act itself easily accessible we shall discuss the points of interest in the order indicated by the sections of the Act.

Section I. The first section shows that the Act contemplates "the establishment of a national system of public education,[3] available for all persons capable of profiting thereby."[4] This latter phrase

[1] Boyd, William, *The Scottish Educational Journal*, p. 702, Sept., 1921.

[2] For full explanation of the Fisher Act see *Guide to Education Act*, 1918, by K. E. T. Wilkinson. See also the *Working out of the Fisher Act*, by Basil Yeaxlee.

[3] "The Act provides for practically all stages of life, 'from the cradle to the grave'; for although adult-education is not specifically mentioned, it is undoubtedly affected by certain clauses. The Act is framed with 'a view to the establishment of a national system of public education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby.' In the *Draft Suggestions for the Arrangement of Schemes under the Education Act*, 1918, subsequently issued by the Board of Education, it is stated that 'one of the most important purposes of the Act . . . . is to establish the principle that all forms of education shall be considered as parts of a single whole, and to secure that all Local Education Authorities, so far as their powers extend, shall contribute to the establishment of an adequate national system." Basil Yeaxlee, *Working out of the Fisher Act*, pp. 7, 8. Oxford University Press, 1921.

[4] "The plan includes nursery schools, elementary schools, secondary and continuation schools, technical and 'further' education, and teaching of university standard. The ideal of education for everybody is put forward in the spirit of the speech made by the King when he laid the foundation-stone of the new University College at Swansea: 'Efficiency is much, but it is not all. We must never forget that education is a preparation for life, and that its true aim is the enlargement of the human spirit. It will be the task of your college to send out into the world men and women fully equipped for the material work which awaits them, and with minds attuned to high ideals, opened to the rich and varied interests of modern life, and steadfastly set towards the service of their fellows.' With an aim no less inspiring, the Act lays upon local Education Authorities certain compulsory *duties* and a great many optional *powers*, respecting all kinds of education (other than intra-mural university education) carried on within their respective areas. Nothing so comprehensive, so complete, so statesmanlike, and so liberal in spirit has ever been accomplished in the history of British Educational legislation." *Ibid*, p. 8.

may provce slightly misleading to the foreign student. The Act does not deal with University education. However, if the Act is ever carried into full effect there will be no lack of educational opportunities for children in England and Wales.

We are warranted in believing that the framers and sponsors of the Fisher Act really intended to open the door of opportunity to all children. Talent was to be admitted, no matter what its class or origin, to the University, and every barrier from the cradle to manhood was to be removed. The Rt. Hon. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, said that the Education Act of 1918 " removes the poverty bar and opens a highway for all classes right up to the University; and it calls for a further expansion of our secondary system. At present we calculate that rather less than one in every hundred of the population is receiving secondary education. We cannot regard that figure as satisfactory. Our first task is to provide teaching staff, buildings, and equipment for those to whom the Act has given the right to higher education. While we appreciate the difficulties we also appreciate the need, and while we are compelled to slacken our rate of progress, there has been no embargo imposed, and we are doing our utmost to keep open the lines of advance." This, then, is an authoritative statement which clearly shows the intention of the Government. It will mean that either still another type of secondary education will be called into existence to meet the need of the thousands for whom no secondary educational opportunities exist, or that the provisions of some or all of the above schools will be very largely extended to meet the demands that the realization of the Fisher Act ideals imposes.

Section II of the Act provides for the development of education in the public Elementary Schools. Before the passage of this Act there was a standing criticism that the last school-years of a large number of bright pupils were wasted, because the curriculum allowed no latitude whereby changes could be made that would more nearly suit the probable demands of the pupils.[1] It also now becomes the duty of the School Authorities to make suitable provision for advanced instruction for the children who stay at the public school beyond the age of fourteen.

It is further required that preparation be made for education schools other than elementary and for the transfer of pupils at suitable ages to such schools.[2]

The former legislation for attending to the health and physical condition of children educated in public Elementary Schools is strengthened greatly. " This in effect makes the medical treatment of school-children a duty instead of, as under the Act referred to,

[1] " A human note is struck in nearly all the schemes. Through them there breathes a great relief that elementary education can be remodelled, the priceless time of adolescence redeemed and adult education properly based." Basil Yeaxlee, *Working out the Fisher Act,* p. 9.

[2] " They close up what has been for the majority a hopeless gap between elementary and adult education. But they also impart an altogether richer quality to the whole process." *Ibid,* p. 101.

merely a power. Thus as regards elementary schools it will henceforth be the duty of the Authority both to inspect and to treat: as regards continuation and secondary schools and public institutions of further education generally, there will be a duty to inspect and a power to treat if the Authority think fit. (See Sec. 18.)"[1] The supply and training of teachers is anticipated by the same section.

Section III. There is to be established a system of Continuation Schools, providing suitable courses of study, instruction and physical training without payment of fees, for all young persons.

Section IV (*a*). "The council of any county, before submitting a scheme under this Act, shall consult the other Authorities in their county (if any) who are Authorities for the purposes of Part III of the Education Act, 1902, with reference to the mode in which and the extent to which any such Authority will co-operate with the council in carrying out their scheme, and when submitting their scheme shall make a report to the Board of Education as to the co-operation which is to be anticipated from any such Authority, and any such Authority may, if they do so desire, submit to the Board as well as to the council of the county any proposals or representations relating to the provision or organization of education in the area of that Authority for consideration in connection with the scheme of the county."

(*b*) "Before submitting schemes[2] under this Act a Local Education Authority shall consider any representations made to them by parents or other persons or bodies of persons interested, and shall adopt such measures to ascertain their views as they consider desirable, and the Authority shall take such steps to give publicity to their proposals as they consider suitable, or as the Board of Education may require."

(*c*) "A Local Education Authority in preparing schemes under this Act shall have regard[3] to any existing supply of efficient and suitable schools or colleges not provided by Local Education Authorities, and to any proposals to provide such schools or colleges."

(*d*) "In schemes under this Act adequate provision shall be made in order to secure that children and young persons shall not be debarred from receiving the benefits of any form of education by which they are capable of profiting through inability to pay fees."[4]

[1] K. E. T. Wilkinson, *Guide to Education Act*, p. 50.

[2] "*Before submitting schemes.* Apparently the procedure contemplated will be somewhat as follows: The Authority will make a draft-scheme: they will publish locally the fact that they have done so, and announce that copies may be obtained by persons interested: they will consider any representations made to them: and finally approve the scheme with or without alteration and submit it to the Board." K. E. T. Wilkinson, *Guide* 1918 *Fisher Act*, p. 53.

[3] "The Council cannot altogether ignore any existing or proposed non-provided institutions, but, after considering them, may, if they think fit, decide not to incorporate them in their scheme." *Ibid*, p. 53.

[4] "(4) Apparently this sub-section implies that there must be 'adequate' provision of free education right up to the university ('any form of education'). What will be regarded as adequate is not easy to say. Fees in elementary schools will cease as from April 1, 1919 (see section 26, 1)." *Guide to Education Act*, by K. E. T. Wilkinson, p. 53.

Section V. This section shows the typical English trait of trying to preserve the principle of liberty for the community and the individual. Even in an educational plan that is intended to be national, we note that by Section V the Local Education Authority is in all cases invited to present a scheme for the fulfilment of this Act. Naturally this will allow the necessary variations suitable to the different localities according to their degree of commercial, industrial and agricultural development. Finally these schemes must have the approval of the Board of Education. The point of special interest to be noted is the arrangement by which initiative is invited, the Local Authorities being asked to submit a plan instead of to approve of one. This difference is altogether significant.

Sections VI and VII. These sections deal with numerous technicalities of previously-existing laws. The interest for the foreign student lies in the national spirit which these sections express. A general power to combine and co-operate for educational ends is given to local bodies in the place of the partial and limited powers previously existing. The previous limits on the amount to be raised by the council of a county out of the rates for education other than elementary are removed. In other words, it is now conceded that there is no good reason why counties should be limited in the amount of their educational expenditure.

2. *Attendance at Elementary and Continuation Schools*

Sections VIII to XVI, inclusive, deal with the question of attendance at school, the kind of school,[1] and the employment of children and young persons. School-attendance is required between the ages of five and fourteen years. Any Local Authority may excuse the first year provided they have made adequate provision for Nursery Schools.

The improvement over the old laws lies in two definite directions. Formerly the child was permitted to leave school on the day on which he became fourteen. Now he must continue in school until the end of the session in which he becomes fourteen. This provision, although apparently somewhat insignficant, shows important consequences for better school-organization and efficiency in the Central Schools and for all others that continue the Elementary Schools. Local Authori-

[1] " Everybody has a part to play in the carrying-out of the Fisher Act, which recognizes the place that the parent has, not only in deciding or helping to decide in detailed situations affecting the individual child, controversial questions such as those connected with the form of religious teaching (if any) that the child shall receive, but in determining how the whole scheme for the locality shall be shaped. This is probably the first time that authorities have been required by Act of Parliament to ascertain and consider the views of parents or other persons or bodies interested before submitting for Government approval their schemes under that Act. The parent has too frequently been regarded as a possible nuisance. Mr. Fisher accords him his proper dignity and responsibility as a partner in the enterprise of educating his own children." Basil Yeaxlee, *Working out the Fisher Act*, p. 59.

ties may extend the school-age until fifteen. Attendance at a Private School cannot be accepted as meeting the demands unless the school is open to inspection and satisfactory registers are kept of the attendance of the scholars. Where due provision is made for advanced instruction pupils may stay in an Elementary School up to and beyond sixteen. There can, however, be no compulsion beyond fifteen. There is to be compulsory attendance at Continuation Schools. The number of hours has been fixed at 320, equivalent to eight hours a week for forty weeks a year. However, there is a proviso that makes it possible to reduce the requirement for the first seven years to 280 hours. This attendance is to be up to the age of sixteen for the first seven years, and after that it is to be up to eighteen. Attendance in any other kind of school, college, or other educational institution requiring a high attendance, is accepted in lieu of the compulsory Continuation School.

Street-trading by children under the age of fourteen is prohibited. It is, however, not to be understood that a boy may not have a newspaper route before or after school. For this he must have a special permit from the school-manager. The writer has been interested in noting that the school-manager seems to investigate the amount of time required, the hours at which the child is supposed to be at work, and home-conditions, and, after being satisfied that the jeopardy in which the child is placed as to morals and health is not too great, he grants the permit. The half-time system is wholly abolished.[1] [2]

Provision is made for prohibiting the employment of children in factories, workshops, mines, and quarries. Also conditions in which children may be employed in other industries are carefully regulated.

[1] "In parts of the country, both industrial and rural, the half-time system stunted their bodies and cramped their minds. Where that system was not in operation there was often a great deal of deleterious employment before and after school hours, as well as on Sundays and holidays. It is true that secondary schools, or public schools opened the way for some children to travel further towards complete development of personality. With a longer period of schooling went, as a matter of course, more satisfactory physical conditions. But these privileges were confined to a few hundred thousand out of the millions of England's boys and girls. Access to them depended upon either the special mental ability of the child, the financial prosperity of the parents, or the freedom of both from an economic necessity that the child should begin at the earliest possible age to earn money." Basil Yeaxlee, *Working out the Fisher Act*, pp. 10-11.

[2] "The half-time system prevalent in the North of England, and the struggle which took place with regard to it when the Education Act of 1918 was still a Bill before Parliament, effectively obscured the amount of work done during the year by children in other parts of the country who attended school for the full number of hours each week demanded by the previous Education Acts. The Director of Education for Manchester, addressing the North of England Education Conference on January 8, 1921, stated that some children between the ages of seven and fourteen years, while in attendance at school, worked as many as fifty hours per week in a great city, which, until recently, had no employment bye-laws. He has since been kind enough to furnish the writer with details." Basil Yeaxlee, *Working out the Fisher Act*, p. 63.

3. *Provisions for Physical Training and Medical Inspection. Nursery Schools*

Sections XVII to XXV. These sections extend the powers and duties of the School Authorities and officials in many important particulars, and an immense extension of the social and physical training is anticipated by the Act. The Local Education Authorities, with the approval of the Board of Education, may aid or maintain holiday- or school-camps (especially for young persons attending Continuation Schools), centres and equipment for physical training, playing-fields, school-baths, and school swimming-baths.

The duty of medical inspection is extended to Secondary Schools, Continuation Schools, or Educational Institutions provided by the Local Authority; the cost, where the Authorities provide the treatment, being charged to the parents, unless the Authorities shall determine otherwise.

The Local Education Authority shall have the power of supplying or aiding Nursery Schools for children over two and under five years of age, or such later age as may be approved by the Board of Education. This is understood to include attendance to the health, nourishment and physical welfare of the children.

The Act strengthens the educational rights of the physically defective and epileptic as well as the mentally defective children.

Powers are also granted for the education of children in exceptional circumstances. "Provided that where a child is boarded out in pursuance of this section the Local Education Authority shall, if possible, and if the parent so requests, arrange for the boarding out being with a person belonging to the religious persuasion of the child's parents. This useful clause will enable Authorities to make provision either temporary or permanent for children (*a*) who live too far away to attend school in the ordinary way, or (*b*) whose homes are periodically removed. The provision would usually take the form either of a residential school or of a hostel where the child would live while attending an ordinary school. The Authority would charge for the board and lodging, and have power to make agreements with the parents for that purpose. Children living on remote moorland farms could thus be sent in to an hostel in the county town for the week to attend school, and return home for the week-ends. The section would also extend to cases where the parents move temporarily at certain seasons for the sake of their work and shut up the home. The approval of the Board is required. By the Canal Boats Acts, 1877 and 1884, a child living on a canal-boat is deemed to be resident where the boat is registered and the obligation to attend school in the ordinary way is affirmed. No special provisions, however, are made for such children, except that a canal-company is empowered to establish residential schools for them. Under the present section a Local Authority could do the same. Authorities already have power to provide conveyances to bring remote children to school, and in such cases the remoteness is no excuse for non-attendance."[1]

[1] Wilkinson (K. E. T.), *Guide to Education Act*, 1918, p. 89.

The Education Act of 1902 included the power to aid, by scholarships, the instruction in public Elementary Schools of scholars from the age of twelve up to the age of about sixteen. The Act of 1918 provides that where a scholarship is given maintenance may also be given.

4. *New Regulations as to School Fees, Inspection of Schools and Appointment of Teachers*

Section XXVI abolishes fees in public Elementary Schools.

Sections XXVII to XXXI. Voluntary Schools may invite government inspection. All schools are required to furnish certain specific information relating to their organization and any particulars prescribed by the regulations made by the Board. The appointment of teachers of secular subjects is left to the Local Education Authority.

5. *Provisions Relating to Central Schools and Other Administrative Regulations*

Sections XXXII to XLIII. Provisions for classes in practical or advanced instruction in Central Schools are strengthened by the Act.

Section XLIV. The Board of Education undertakes to pay 50 per cent. for any object which in the Board's opinion should be aided by grant.

Sections XLIV to LII make provisions for educational trusts and the definition of certain technical terms appearing in the Act.

Chapter IV

THE ECONOMY CRY AND THE FISHER ACT

(*a*) High Hopes give way to Disappointment

Civilized nations the world over sat up and took notice, as it were, when the English Parliament passed the Education Act of 1918. Educationists in other nations felt that if education were to receive all the stimulus that seemed to be implied in that Act, there was something to be said for those who argued that the War had not been fought altogether in vain. It caused a real admiration for England. Men who love humanity and are inspired by progress wherever it presents itself felt a real thrill of pride at the good news that was coming from England. If England had known what an impression she was making on the outside world, and the extent to which many of her old-time rivals, the United States and France, were giving her credit for virtues, which as events have finally shown she does not fully possess, it is doubtful whether she would have shown such haste in delaying or practically rescinding many of the idealistic provisions of the 1918 Act.

According to the version of her rivals, nothing that she ever did before seemed to cover such a multitude of sins as this one Act. It really did seem as though England had had a re-birth of spirit, and intended to give the world a complete model of an educational system that extended an equal opportunity to all.

Q. H. Powell gave a splendid summary af the entire situation in his speech at the Easter Conference at Bridlington in 1921. The hope, and later the gloom, which he says was felt in England was reflected in a measure in all the civilized world. "The educational year which dawned full of hope is closing amidst doubt, uncertainty, and gloom. . . . Unfortunately, however, the reasonable demand for economy has been converted by reactionaries, and those who are and always have been opponents of popular education, into a demand for the ruthless cutting down of expenditures upon that most necessary of national services. In many quarters the campaign for economy had become a campaign against education as such." So many unforeseen events happened to postpone the appointed day before which certain sections of the Act could not be put into force. Trade decreased, and there had been much unemployment,[1] so that national economy seemed

[1] The unemployment seems to have been brought about in part by the unreasonable demands of the workers. The War had given them abnormal standards in spending. Why work, when the dole-system paid them for not working?

to have become a necessity in a far greater degree than was contemplated by even the most ardent friends of education. But the most regrettable side of this whole project lies in the fact that a great many reactionaries and genuine enemies of democracy used the economy-argument as a catch-word in order to block progress, and thereby to secure the continued enjoyment of the blessings of civilization to a class of people who had no other claims beyond those of having been born in a decadent aristocracy, and of being heirs of wealth which they themselves did not earn, but which was handed to them by an ancestor who had been able to profit by favourable legislation.

The whole procedure can be explained only by considering the sources that are responsible for the Act itself. These show clearly that it was an idea born among the ranks of a group of idealists of which the President of the Board of Education was a splendid type, and that in the hour of gratitude for sacrifices that were being made at the front, and in the country generally, the will of these idealists was allowed to have its sway, especially since what they proposed to do was not to be carried into execution until some future date.[1] The

[1] The Act could not have passed if the date of its execution had been definitely set for the near future. Under the circumstances certain groups felt that it would be the best policy to give " lip service " or at least silent approval to all that was going on, and later to proceed to make an attack against its operation. Further, it seems certain now that certain groups allowed the Act to pass because they feared Bolshevism in England. The Act gave labour a promise, and it encouraged the idealists to believe that the reactionaries could be converted. In this way it certainly did help to tide over an impending crisis at the time.

" So the anti-educationist was silent, the tongue of opposition was still. In the glamour of winning the war, Tommy was a hero and nothing was too good for him or for his children. Even among reactionaries the time was not opportune for an outcry against such reforms as were directed to the uplifting of the children of those who had fought and died for us.

" But the burden of taxation and of local rates began to press heavily on the taxpayer and the ratepayer, and an outcry arose among men of all classes, backed up in no uncertain voice by the daily and weekly press, against the appalling waste and extravagance of the Government. The habit of spending money like water which grew up during the war, excusable no doubt at the time, though the waste was appalling, this habit has been continued ever since the Armistice, and thinking men of all parties are calling, and very rightly calling, for a halt.

" And so the anti-educationist sees his opportunity. He doesn't deem it prudent even yet to declare himself an honest opponent of extended education for the people, but he cloaks his opposition in the garb of necessary economy, as being more alluring and at least equally effective.

" Now we are all in sympathy with the protest against waste and extravagance, against the habit of loose spending, one may say of squandering public money, of which there is only too abundant evidence.

" But it is strange that while many forms of expenditure have been attacked, it is just in connection with those things on which we can least afford to curtail expense that the attacks have so far proved successful—education, health, housing, and the like.

" The practical business man (whose meddling with State affairs has not been an unqualified success) strains at the gnat of education, but will swallow easily the camel of naval and military expenditure. He refuses to invest a modest sum in what may be regarded as a gilt-edged security, while he is willing to risk large sums in the seductive ' flutter ' of naval and military expenditure.

Act represented a wish, a hope, an ideal that had no open enemies, but, as events have shown, it did not have sufficient friends to guarantee its execution. The English press has shown that the workers did not make any concerted action to prevent the reactionaries from getting the Act postponed in part. It revealed, too, that after all it would be necessary to educate the English workers to want this educational opportunity for their children. They do not have enough collective sense to hold advantages even after chance circumstances had enacted them into law. At present, they seem to be much more occupied in talking about holding the coal-mines, and in resenting attacks that threaten to take away their beer.[1] However, even the most casual observer is soon forced to the conclusion that the degree of education possessed by the English workers of the present day, and such provision as has been made for the education of their children are not sufficient to enable them to run the coal-mines even if they owned them. Hence, between the shortsightedness of the English workers themselves, and the stupidity and avarice of the reactionaries, it becomes a task of no mean proportions to put into operation all the idealistic promises that appear to be foreshadowed in the Fisher Act.

If we add to the State expenditure the amounts spent by the municipalities on education, we get about a hundred million pounds. Even the combined sum is ridiculously small compared with what is wasted. The time has come when English teachers would be well advised to help the nation on this drink and tobacco issue by both precept and example. Many of their speeches and resolutions attacking the Government come with poor grace from an assembled body of teachers, sitting around tables loaded with beer, and the room blue with smoke. Their counsel to lawgivers cannot be taken too seriously, until they themselves show some disposition toward tolerance in hearing all sides of the truth.

Yet, as it seems to many of us, the refusal to adopt a progressive policy in regard to education is to declare ourselves to be already in that state of bankruptcy which it is the ardent desire of the economists to avert. There seems reason to believe that the economy campaign is being used by a section of the public which is opposed to the idea of further education for the people. There is at any rate, in certain quarters, an antagonism to any additional expense in education which is out of all proportion to the amount in question, and can only be explained by a rooted dislike of the object for which the expenditure is required.

"We are forced to the conclusion that the battle is not yet won, that the belief in the benefits of education is not nearly so universal as we thought, and that there is still a considerable body of public opinion that is determined that, though education may continue to be compulsory for all children, such education shall be as limited as possible." *The Educational Times*, February, 1921.

[1] Mr. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, has done well to call attention to the extravagances in drink and tobacco. He says: "The plea of a nation which spent 410 millions on its annual drink bill and 181 millions on its tobacco bill carried little conviction when it urged that it could not afford a proper system of education." The comparative figures are as follows:

	1913-14	1919-20	Cost per head
Elementary Education	£26,000,000	£56,000,000	£10 11s. 0d.
Drink	166,000,000	410,000,000	£14 12s. 0d.
Tobacco	———	181,000,000	£6 0s. 0d.

The Highway, May, 1921.

(*b*) Retrenchment of Expenditures on Education, and its Apparent Effects

Those who have followed the discussion in English papers during the year 1922 have been duly impressed by the continued appearance of the long columns occupied by the Geddes Parliamentary Committee, which had been assigned the task of recommending reductions in national expenses. In February, 1922, this Committee advocated a reduction of eighteen million pounds in the expenditure on education on the Board's estimate of fifty million pounds. Such a storm of protest was raised all over the country at this wholesale attack on education, that finally the reduction was put at six million pounds. The Committee recommended that children should not be taken into schools until they reached the age of six years. This was not accepted. However, the agitation of this particular question has led to compromises relating to the schooling of infants. It has helped to get a movement started that proposes to have the younger children taught by "motherly persons." These persons are uncertificated, and have had little or no experience in teaching. It simply means that the children are to have an inferior grade of teacher who can be employed at a small salary. It is a device for circumventing the Burnham standard scales. The city of London is experimenting with several hundred of these "motherly persons" at the present time. Other cities are considering the use of the same tactics. The scheme is likely to be short-lived. Its main interest lies in showing how apparently easy it seems to be able to undermine standards in education that have required years of effort to construct, such as the qualifications of certified teachers, standard scales, pensions, and the like. All of these standards for the efficiency and security of the teaching-profession will be greatly weakened by the innovation.

The further development of Nursery Schools has likewise been checked. Up to March, 1921, twenty-six Nursery Schools had been established by the Board. Since that date, a large number of proposals for the provision of such schools have been withdrawn by the Local Education Authorities. The financial economy thus gained is likely to be dearly bought. It will be reflected in the large cities with slum-areas and narrow streets, in the loss of an excellent opportunity to inculcate habits of discipline and cleanliness. Medical review will be delayed, hence physical defects and incipient diseases will have a chance to take firmer hold. Further, thousands of children will be exposed to the perils of the street, and will suffer from a lack of constant supervision so necessary to infancy. For illustration, in the city of Manchester alone, 2,400 widows went out daily to work during the winter of 1922. Their children, numbering 4,200, were many of them under six years of age. Such situations tell their own story.

The recommendations of the Committee that the size of classes be increased to fifty will be accepted in part. The size of the average class has been thirty-three. It was also recommended that small schools be closed. This will be difficult on account of the dual system. Further, the distinction of social classes is still too marked

to allow a union of small schools. In addition, it was recommended that the number of free places be reduced, and that fees be raised substantially. This is a direct stroke against democracy. A cut in teachers' salaries and making the pension-scheme contributory were also suggested. The latter has been accepted, while the former is still under discussion.

In 1913-14 England spent ten per cent. of her revenue on education. In 1920-21 it had fallen to five per cent. of the national revenue. In 1913-14 she spent twenty-six million pounds on elementary education. In 1919-20 it had risen to fifty-six million pounds. However, the sum spent before the War was ten per cent., whereas the larger sum spent since the War represents only five per cent., of the national expenditure.

The " economy cry " was the main cause that delayed the Day Continuation School clauses from coming into effect. London, Rugby, Stratford-on-Avon, Swindon, and a few other cities started the Continuation Schools. The three latter cities have continued them up to the present date. That in itself indicates that the most important provisions of the Act are not dead. What a few cities have to-day, some others can get to-morrow. Of course the greatest blow was the rescinding of the Day Continuation Schools of London. Almost from the first the time was reduced from two years to one year. At one time about eighty-six per cent. of all the children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were in attendance. Before the end of the first year the attendance fell to nearly twenty per cent. It became a voluntary affair after the word was passed that the Local Authorities would not enforce their own rules. The papers began to exploit a few isolated incidents in which employers discriminated against children who were in attendance at the Day Continuation School. The following citation was a case in point:—" At the Mansion House last week, when a boy of fourteen was charged with robbery from a van, his mother said he had had no regular work since he left school, as, owing to the Education Act, he had to attend continuation classes for two afternoons a week, and employers would not engage him with this drawback. Mr. Phillips (probation officer) said the Act hit poor parents very hard, and this particular section was a great defect. Mr. Richards (chief clerk) said the theory of the Act was that employers would allow the boys two afternoons a week on which to attend the classes.

" The Lord Mayor—' In practice no employers will engage boys who have to leave their work to go to these afternoon classes.' "[1]

The attitude of the Lord Mayor is significant in confirming a sentiment among the employers that is evidently quite generally held. This situation gave rise to the employment of children for work in London, who reside outside the London area, where the Act is not yet in force.

English educational history has been characterized by a long period of evolution rather than revolution. Things do indeed go forward, but not wholesale. England would seem to have a preference for patch-

[1] *Times Educational Supplement*, December 3, 1921, p. 542.

work. It has been said that " England is a land of compromise: this is evident in the domain of education. The system of training children is a compromise, the English national character is in a way a compromise." It is worth while to consider whether this spirit of compromise be a virtue or a defect. For once, in English educational history, it did look as if the Act of 1918 were going to be a whole piece of cloth, but no! the proposed reductions from sixteen to fifteen, the postponement of the appointed day, the delay in the establishment of summer-camps and Nursery Schools, and finally, the request on the part of Mr. Fisher that teachers should set the patriotic example of foregoing the increases in salary allowed by the Burnham scales, all this indicates that England intends to follow her well-established tradition of doing things piecemeal rather than by the adoption of fundamental and sweeping reforms.

(*c*) Much Substantial Progress has been Achieved

If the " economy cry " and the general reaction have done much to check the realization of the early hopes based on the Fisher Act, it would still be unfair to attribute the entire failure to these forces alone. There were other contributory causes. The Act anticipated too many sweeping changes at one time. A school-system such as the one in London found it hard to make the needed adjustments without causing great friction.

In the first place, it necessitated a whole new teaching-staff. Men and women were appointed to these new posts, who had had little or no training for the particular work that the new provisions called for. Further, the courses were not yet adapted to the needs of boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The courses were non-vocational. No trades were taught, though the work was given a vocational bias. This seems not to have been fully satisfactory. Some of the children, and especially their parents, wanted " bread and butter " only.

Poor building was another cause of failure. It was necessary to rent all sorts of buildings, many of which were old, and wholly inadequate for school purposes.

The schools were co-educational. In the London Elementary Schools the boys and girls are taught in separate classes. It was only natural, then, that they should find themselves quite unprepared to meet at the age of fourteen in the same school and class. If the sexes have not been educated together in the Elementary School it is quite easy to understand that they would hardly be prepared to meet during the critical years of adolescence.

The London County Council abolished the Day Continuation School in July, 1922, and substituted the Day Voluntary School. The curriculum was devoted largely to vocational subjects. Eleven such schools, enrolling more than three thousand children, were opened in October, 1922.

The Evening Schools which we have described elsewhere[1] will con-

[1] See p. 34.

tinue. Hence, the door of opportunity is still there, even if it is only partly open.

The Fisher Act has effected certain important changes. In the future no child may leave school before the completion at least of his fourteenth year. Half-time is dead; the system of whole or partial exemption from school-attendance is gone. The child must stay at school till the end of the term in which his fourteenth birthday occurs. This point in itself represents an exceptional gain. Formerly, children left during term-time, and classes were continually breaking up. Also, such children were lost to Higher Elementary Schools, because it was found difficult to accept them after the term had begun.

Children may stay on for another year or even longer. Many are doing it already. To this really universal system of primary education there is added the practical extinction of child labour. The reinforcement of the school medical service by means of provisions of the Act has been and is an increasing source of benefit to all. The Act provides for wide extensions of educational activities in the regions of social and physical training. In spite of the financial stress, the Local Authorities, with but few exceptions, are bringing the provisions of the 1918 Act into operation. The Act is now the law of the land. It may be that a decade or more will be necessary to realize all its provisions. It is not likely that the English labourer will always allow his children to be cheated of what the law provides as their birthright—an opportunity to make the most of themselves.

Chapter V

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

(*a*) The Dalton Laboratory Plan

If one judge by the amount of space which the Educational Supplement of the *Times* has given to the Dalton Plan[1] within the last several years, it seems safe to assert that this innovation holds first place among the new experiments in education in England. Professor T. P. Munn, of the University of London, School of Education, said in an address at which the writer was present, that few educational movements have made so much progress in a short time.

What is the Plan[2] in principle? One would be quite justified in calling it an eclectic outgrowth of the Montessori Method and the Dewey educational philosophy.[3] "Broadly speaking, the old type of school may be said to stand for *culture*, while the modern type of school stands for *experience*. The Dalton Laboratory Plan is primarily a way whereby both these aims can be reconciled and achieved."[4] It claims to be neither a method nor a system but a way to socialize a school. It is a plan to create a social atmosphere, whereby potentialities may be released, and energies may be freed.

The assignment of the lesson is the most important part of the teacher's task. It should clarify the work[5] in the mind of the child.

[1] The Plan takes its name from the town of Dalton, Massachusetts. The principal originator of the idea is Miss Helen Parkhurst. She seems to have inspired and been aided by a number of collaborators. Among these, the more prominent are Miss Rosa Bassett at the Streatham County Secondary School, England, and Miss Belle Rennie, whose writings in the Educational Supplement of the *Times* brought the well-thought-out experiment to the notice of the British teachers.

[2] See *Education on the Dalton Plan*, by Helen Parkhurst.

[3] The activity and the organization of the work in the school-room is quite similar to that of the Life Schools (see Part III, chap. IV (*d*); however, the latter allow more freedom to the pupil in choice of work and in range of experience.

[4] Parkhurst, *Education on the Dalton Plan*, p. 15.

[5] At the Dalton Plan Conference held at Bristol, July, 1922, the teachers who represented the schools that were now operating the Plan claimed for it these advantages.

"Each pupil proceeds at his own natural rate, neither being kept back nor hurried along faster than he can go, stimulated to make as much progress as he can by his sense of responsibility for his job, and by increased interest in his work.

"In consequence, the progress of each pupil is now real and solid, as it is the result of his own doing and experience and learning. Learning is an

It is not important for the teacher to know what she has accomplished, but it is a matter of moment for the child to know what he is accomplishing. "The Dalton Plan lays emphasis upon the importance of the child's living while he does his work, and the manner in which he acts as a member of society, rather than upon the subjects of his curriculum. It is the sum total of these twin experiences which determine his character and his knowledge."[1]

The Plan is in operation in Streatham County Secondary School for girls. There are seven hundred pupils in this school. It is also in operation in many of the County Council Schools, especially in the London district and in the north of England.[2]

(*b*) The Works Schools

During the passage of the 1918 Fisher Act there was a sharp division of opinion as to whether schools set up by individual firms should or should not be recognized by the Board of Education for the purpose of Section 10 of the Act. It was finally provided that the Educational Authority may recognize existing or prospective schools in connection with works.[3] These schools are to be under the control and direction of the Authority, and open to inspection. It is provided, however, that no young person shall be required to attend a Works School of the works at which he is employed against his will. A number of well-known factories and commercial houses are carrying on educational schemes of their own. Here are a few examples: Lever Bros., Marconi Co., Mather and Platt, British Thompson-Houston Co., Hans Renold, Barr and Stroud, Reckitts, Rowntrees, Frys, Harrods, Selfridges, Morland and Impey, C. and J. Clark, Burgess Ledward, Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co., and others. The last

individual matter, and it is only by making it an individual matter to each pupil that real progress can be made. The pupil has become an active responsible agent instead of an irresponsible receptacle of the teacher's learning. The teacher cannot learn for the pupil.

"The pupil is under contract to work through a certain number of assignments in a certain time, and, in consequence, he must look upon the job in its entirety. He is impelled to tackle the unpleasant parts with the pleasant, thus acquiring a habit which is not only useful, but essential to success in life.

"The pupil is being trained to accept responsibility for himself, to organize his talents so as to make for success, to understand the meaning and dignity of work, and to realize the joy of self-education. The influence of this training on his after-school career must be obvious to all.

"The 'discipline' question almost disappears. The cause of mischievous and troublesome behaviour is to a great extent removed. The pupil has a quite different outlook on school life. The teacher does not impose his dicta on the unwilling pupil, but allows the pupil to appeal to him for guidance. A pupil who does not hesitate to waste his teacher's time and cause trouble is inclined to be more particular about his own."

The Times Educational Supplement, July 29, 1922.

[1] Parkhurst, *Education on the Dalton Plan*, p. 25.

[2] Among the more important may be mentioned: The Kirkstall Road School, Leeds; Felixstowe, Clifton Down; Duncan House, Clifton. Eight schools in the Woolwich district have adopted the Plan either wholly or partially.

[3] The Scottish Act rejected a similar provision. See p. 75.

two are notable because of their connection with the textile industry. There is an association for the advancement of education in industry and commerce to which a good many such firms belong. The educational arrangements of a firm may be vocational or non-vocational. Both forms usually appear in the same school.

The writer visited the Works School conducted by Cadbury Bros. Ltd., Bournville. The following facts will be of interest:

Number of employees in attendance: about 1,100 girls and 700 boys.

Time of attendance: two half-days per week for all under sixteen years of age, one compulsory and one voluntary half-day for those between sixteen and eighteen (office-youths go until nineteen, apprentices until twenty-one).

Length of half-day: three and one-half or three and three-quarters hours.

Some other employers send boys and girls—in much smaller numbers—to the same schools.

Education given is as broad and general as time permits—something like part-time secondary education. A few of the students do quite advanced work and some have passed University examinations, both matriculation and intermediate.

Students are paid for the time spent at school.

The school is in the main managed by the Birmingham Education Committee, with the help and intimate co-operation of the firm in many directions. The firm provides a physical training staff, and all gymnastic and swimming equipment. The Education Committee provides the rest of the teachers, assumes general financial responsibility for the schools, and receives the Government grant. All the remaining forms of educational work described below are financed and managed by the firm with intervention of the Local Education Authority.

The Initiation School is arranged to give new boys and girls a better introduction to factory-life: lessons, illustrative visits, lantern lectures, etc., on raw materials, processes of manufacture, power, works rules and institutions, social side of the factory, geography and history of the works, and so on.

Vacation Schools are arranged when the Day Continuation School is on holiday. The curriculum is similar to that of the Initiation School but from a more advanced standpoint. Students are paid for time spent in Initiation and Vacation Schools, as well as in Camp Schools referred to below.

Camp Schools (quite distinct from holiday-camp). For the last four years this has taken the form of a week's " school-journey " on a specially fitted up canal-boat.

Apprenticeship Scheme. A relatively small number of boys can be apprenticed at Bourneville Works, but they are in a considerable variety of trades, fitting, carpentry, tinsmithing, electrical trades, pipe-fitting, etc. In the training of these apprentices, special facilities are granted on the technical side.

Scholarships to various Universities (Birmingham, Glasgow, Oxford) for employees of outstanding ability are given by the Works Education Committees. These may last for three or four years. Full-time scholarships, usually for one year, tenable by both sexes, at Ruskin College, Oxford, and elsewhere, are given by the Works Councils. Part-time scholarships tenable at Birmingham University or at "Fircroft" are also given by the Works Councils to adult students of both sexes. Scholarships of short duration to Summer Schools, etc., are given by the Works Councils.

Popular evening lectures of a high order are arranged by the Works Councils for employees and their friends.

The school seems to enjoy wide approval in all educational circles. It is a case in which Capital is showing a commendable spirit towards its young workers. As an educational experiment, it is bound to attract attention. On the basis of such experiences, the Fisher Act will evolve its goal.

(*c*) The Fellowship Schools

England has more than thirty schools that are experimenting with a variety of new methods.[1] In the list, one finds schools that represent every type of school-activity, and pupils of all ages. The one element that seems common to all is an organized effort to obtain liberty and self-government for the child. A large number of schools are co-educational, the aim being to make the school a miniature of life. Some of them have no time-table, offer no prizes, and give no marks, the chief aim being to teach children how to co-operate with each other and to live. A majority of them lay special stress on apprenticeship and manual labour of an educational kind.

It appears that the educational methods of all of them are mere variations or combinations of ideas already well-known in the educational practice and philosophy of Dr. Montessori, Dr. Kerschensteiner and Professor Dewey—in other words, a late revival of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

These schools are all private, and the tuition charge is fairly high. For that reason their influence on the masses will not be very great. They do represent a protest and revolt against the unnatural kind of imprisonment that characterizes many of the regular schools.

There is the constant hope and possibility that one or more of these methods may attract sufficient popular attention to be taken over in the regular school-system. The War has given some help in this direction. Firstly, it has stimulated a search for new methods, inasmuch as the war-time strain revealed certain inefficiencies of the conventional schools. Secondly, people are not so sure of themselves as they once were. They are beginning to wonder if what they have is the best that can be had. If it is, the guarantee for the future of

[1] The official organ of the new school is *The New Era*, 11, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 1. The number for October, 1922, contains a list of the more important of these schools.

civilization seems far from being assured. It is an attitude of thought that lies at the basis of a substantial hope that something better may be in store for the morrow.

(*d*) Society for Experiment and Research in Education

Under the auspices of the Society for Experiment and Research in Education experiments are being undertaken in secondary education. Such a school is the New Public School at Bembridge, Isle of Wight. As contrasted with nearly all the great Public Schools, this new institution devotes much more time to the sciences, history, and literature. Very practical use is made of the museum and art-gallery. The boys carry on certain occupations in common, such as gardening, and work in arts and crafts.

Other groups who show a special interest in literary and historical things form a society for the study of local history. They make surveys which include the history, geology, flora and fauna of the island. The school is a member of the League of Nations Union, and with that the whole spirit of the school has been set forth. It is an effort to help the boy to "function" in the world as it is. To do that, it must draw its inspiration not only from the immediate community, but from all the world.

That the experiment is a radical departure from the regular Public School is evident. It is an education that faces life instead of a mass of antiquated school-traditions.

That the Public Schools are under fire is a fact that can no longer be ignored. The writer came into contact with many leaders of the National Union of Teachers, who charge the Public Schools with snobbery and arrogance. His attention was drawn to the difficulties that were encountered by Elementary School teachers in getting commissions in the army. It was not lack of ability, but the handicap of social class—being a country school-teacher—that was against him. Men omitted from their records the fact that they had taught in a Council School, or had ever attended one. Other cases were cited, in which the parents made great financial sacrifices to keep their sons in certain Public Schools because of the social prestige.[1] This was done, even when the parents and friends of the boys were convinced

[1] "The old public schools have become huge vested interests. Some of the consequent evils are:

"(1) In the absence of public control or inspection the schools tend to live in educational backwaters with obsolete methods and curricula.

"(2) They accentuate class divisions. Boys are sent to them for the social 'stamp' thus obtained.

"(3) Whilst they turn out brave, attractive, healthy lads (what schools could not with such material?) these are often conventionalized in mind and spirit, the slaves of 'good form,' and without that individuality which comes from free play and cultivation of personality.

"(4) The time of the public school boy is, to a great extent, wasted, because his studies are based on tradition and have little relation to the life which awaits him either as citizen or worker.

"I speak from my practical experience as a master."

—Whitehouse, J. Howard. *The English Public School: A Symposium*, p. 104.

that other more democratic schools gave a better mental training, and perhaps even a more refined culture. It was recognized, however, that the social prestige of having attended a Public School seemed to receive precedence over genuine ability in securing a post in the Civil Service or the higher banking, and other business, circles.

Since the War, much has been written both for and against the Public Schools and the whole English education-system in general. The most important of the books is *The Loom of Youth*, by Alec Waugh.[1] *The Harrovians* and *Loose Ends*,[2] by Arnold Lunn, are regarded as an impeachment of the whole Public School System. *Joan and Peter*: *The Story of an Education*,[2] by H. G. Wells, is a further indictment of the Public School system.

It is the Private School, however, that is made the subject of the main criticism.[3]

The appearance of such writings led the Society for Experiment and Research to prepare a symposium on *The English Public School*. This has provoked much healthful criticism. The curriculum has come in for what seems to be a justified attack. A strong indictment is made against Greek and Latin. The superior advantages that can be made to result from studies in modern languages, modern history and civics are set forth.[4]

Probably the greatest service that the Society for Experiment and Research is accomplishing lies in provoking a healthful criticism of the existing educational institutions and methods of teaching.

The manner in which religion is taught also receives much deserved criticism. Finally, the domination of athletics, and the exclusive

[1] This book seems destined to become a classic in the history of the Public Schools. Ask almost any man who has been through a Public School what he thinks about *The Loom of Youth*, and he will tell you it is trash, and advise that no attention be paid to it. Then continue your questioning. Ask what the book states that is not true. You will usually receive a reply that is halting, confused and apologetic to such a degree, that you are at once convinced its author must have known his subject. You decide to get the book. Having read it, you agree that " It is a remarkable literary achievement, the more notable because written immediately the author had left school. It is the most candid of all the books about Public Schools. It gives with the detail of a photograph the daily life and atmosphere of the school described. Here, so far as the author's experience is concerned, is the real thing. Masters and boys are both sketched with impartial remorselessness. Their religion, ideals, conversation, conduct, all are given us. The book is a challenge, so far as what it describes is typical, to the public school system in almost every detail." *The English Public School*: *A Symposium*.

You remember now that your friend, the Public School man, was just one more of the many of his kind, who hoped that the Public School might be " accepted unquestioningly as was the Old Testament. But times change. The Old Testament and the Public School are both of them in the melting pot of criticism." Waugh, Alec, *The Loom of Youth*, p. 30.

[2] The former was published in 1913, and the latter in 1919. Both are regarded as giving an able picture of Public School life. They discuss much the same problems as those presented in *The Loom of Youth*.

[3] For reference to inadequacy of the English Private School, see p. 13.

[4] A strong case is made in favour of the modern subjects. See *The English Public Schools*: *A Symposium*, by J. Howard Whitehouse.

distinction that grows out of it, is a common theme in all books about the Public Schools.

The writer interviewed some of the masters of the leading Public Schools who admitted that athletics dominate too strongly in the schools. These same men were opposed to championships in schools. They think it bad for boys to be too much advertised. Also, the matches between large Public Schools are looked upon as a doubtful asset. Such opinions appear to be gaining currency, if one may judge from the reports and addresses that are emanating from the annual conferences of the head-masters.

On the other hand, the writer encountered other head-masters who stoutly contended that athletics constituted the heart of the English Public School. It was the main source of character-building, because nothing else was comparable to it in teaching sacrifice and team-work.

If the Public Schools are the butt of sharp criticism, it does not mean that they are losing their old-time popularity. All places are filled and long waiting-lists are reported. People still seem to be anxious to share the popularity that is attached to these institutions. However, the masses give signs of getting ready to throw off the governmental leadership of the Public School group. The writer interviewed men and women in responsible positions who stated that the War showed English soldiers that they were being ruled by many who were incompetent. Until then it was the upper classes who had passed through the big Public Schools, that ruled England. The War brought this group into close contact with the ordinary soldier. The illusion of the Public School product was displayed in clear light. This discovery, added to the strain which the War placed upon all customs and institutions, laid the basis for a change in educational systems.

Chapter VI

SUMMER SCHOOLS

The Summer School movement in England is one that was developing very rapidly prior to the War, and, in spite of the extraordinary difficulties which war-time conditions imposed, continued to grow during the years of the War. During the year 1922, however, when the country was passing through severe economic strain, the movement suffered rather seriously from financial limitations. In previous years, the Board of Education recognized many of the Summer Schools as being eligible for grants in aid of their work, the grants being given for approved studies and approved attendance on a certain basis. That year, owing to the necessity for national economy, fewer schools than usual were subsidized in this way. The Board of Education published a list which gives a very good idea of the number of such schools, and the nature of their work.[1] Some of the schools have been held, both in this and previous years, under Education Authorities, while others have been held by private associations and Universities. None of the schools seem to have had a very large attendance because there is a tendency in the Summer Schools in England to specialize within narrow limits. The largest attendance, so far as can be gathered, would appear to be that of the City of London Vacation Course in Education, arranged under the auspices of the *Teacher's World*, a monthly educational journal. It represents an effort to combine sight-seeing in London and an opportunity to get an insight into all the latest theories and practical methods of teaching. It is a vacation under guidance. Having spent a summer in such a school, the teacher will follow the articles appearing during the school-year in the *Teacher's World* with much greater profit.

There is nothing in England comparable to the American Chautauqua Institution in the way of Summer Schools. Instead of combining manifold opportunities under the auspices of one body, as in the Chautauqua Institution, the tendency in England is towards specialization, both of subjects and students.

The following Summer Schools may be selected for special mention as being of a novel and highly-specialized type: one on mine-surveying organized by the Carmarthen Education Committee was held in a big mining-area, such a Summer School being likely to draw engineering and mining-students of a University type.

[1] The official report lists sixty institutions.

At the Madryn Castle Farm School, Pwllheli, gardening and rural science were taken.

Under the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art a fortnight's course of work for those interested in these subjects dealt with speech-training, voice-training, phonetics, lectures in public speaking, the delivery of lectures, verse-diction, dramatic study, reading and recitation-classes, and the study and cure of speech-defects.

In 1921 the Civic Education League held a Summer School of civics at Guildford, Surrey, which 290 students attended. These students were chiefly lecturers, teachers, health-workers, and other social workers, business-organizers and so forth; and the subjects comprising their course were sociology, economics, social surveys, social psychology, social biology, government, art in social life, anthropology and modern history. On the civic side, hygiene, recreation, house- and town-planning, social hygienic and economic problems were taken, while under the heading "social education," Continuation School work, the teaching of civics and preparation for parenthood also found their place.

A similar Summer School of civics, conducted by the Civic Education League, was held at High Wycombe in 1920, and, prior to that, under the auspices of the Civic Education League and the Eugenics Education Society jointly, a Summer School of civics and eugenics was held. A school of this type draws from 100-200 students annually, and because of the specialized nature of the school such students are usually of a well-qualified type.

The Fabian Summer School held its sixteenth annual session this year at Godalming, where the Fabian Society has a house accommodating over eighty students, with a splendidly equipped gymnasium on the grounds. The aim of the Fabian Society Summer School is to bring together for mutual intercourse members of the Fabian Society and other persons interested in the various kinds of socialist work and social reform, and to afford opportunities for lectures on sociology, economics and other subjects. The school lasts about six weeks as a rule, and the programme is organized so that students may attend for separate weeks only if they wish. While study is one great object of these schools, both indoor and outdoor recreations are also included. The headquarters of the Fabian Society are at 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

The National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship held a Summer School this year at Oxford. The programme covered lectures dealing with (a) legislation affecting women; (b) the League of Nations and international relations; (c) administration of justice, a course specially designed to help women-magistrates; (d) local government administration; (e) the economic position of women; (f) parliamentary and election work. This school was attended very well, over a hundred students being present; and considerable attention was paid to its activities in the press.

There are numbers of smaller schools run by various co-partnership and co-operative organizations. The Co-operative Union has a

number of such schools of two or three weeks' duration in different parts of England. The Individual Co-operative Stores or Educational Agencies within the Co-operative movement run Week-end Schools lasting generally from midday on Saturday to Sunday evening. In these schools discussions and lectures are conducted dealing with the particular interests of the co-operative and co-partnership movements.

The Uplands Association is a small group of people whose aim is to provide a means for active study and co-operation for persons (and especially for parents and teachers) interested in educational reforms, i.e., in reform of school-life and teaching. It is not concerned with the criticism and the public administration of education, nor with any form of political or religious agitation. It has held yearly, since its inauguration in 1915, a summer-meeting, in addition to having other conferences at different times of the year. Its conferences are led by Professor J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education in the University of Manchester. The Association now has its *pied-à-terre*, having secured the Hall Farm, Stockley, for its more-or-less permanent summer-meeting headquarters. The students at this school, though comparatively small in number, are naturally of a high grade of intellectual preparation for the work.

Of notable interest, too, is the Winter School organized by the Women Sanitary Inspectors' and Health Visitors' Association, held at the beginning of January, 1922. In this course, which specialized on the problems of the health-visitors' work, something of the nature of a post-graduate course for health-visitors was provided. This constitutes a great step forward, for it is only within recent years that any movement to standardize the qualifications of health-visitors has been initiated—so that post-graduate work indicates an enormous stride in the direction of high qualifications for these most important servants of the public.

These recent examples of genuine progress show that the War did not create the English Summer School movement. It did give it content and direction.

The period of praising ourselves has come to an end. The shouting has died down. Disillusionment has set in. We are face to face with a selfishness in individuals and in nations that is calculated to stagger even the most optimistic. Kind Fates gave us a great Victory. Unfortunately, we find ourselves wholly unequipped to make any good use of it. These topics under consideration at the Summer Schools indicate an attitude of thought that is groping for help. It is revealed in the great variety of pedagogical questions that have been taken into consideration. Questions of civics and public administration have come well to the front. Hygiene and sex-education are migrating to the light, and pressing for immediate attention. It is one of the legacies of the War. In other courses, the groups are concerned with questions of international relations and reconstruction. It is hoped that new and expeditious ways may be found to restore our losses, and, if possible, to prevent the recurrence of the world's greatest folly, war.

Chapter VII

SCOTLAND

(*a*) Scottish Education before the Great War

1. *Its Democratic Character*

In no country in Europe does the American investigator of schools find himself more at home than in Scotland. His first impression is that the educational outlook and the means for its fulfilment compare in a marked degree with the notions that obtain in his own country. A little study and reflection will make the cause of the resemblance clear. It is a well-known fact that the Scottish pioneers wielded an influence on American educational institutions that was many times greater than would be indicated by their numbers. The people had come together from the many countries in Europe, and found themselves under the necessity of organizing society. This new conglomeration of people brought conflicting traditions. Now, whatever may have been the virtues of each of the other groups, an appreciation of education and the fundamental principle of democracy were among the leading assets in the store of riches with which the Scottish colonists endowed the new world.

A research into Scottish educational history will reveal the sources of the Scotsman's enviable record in educational influences abroad, and will explain the long history of enlightened educational enactments and their conscientious execution at home. It can be shown that educational legislation has been the crystallization of the cultural demands of practically the whole people. For illustration, when James IV of Scotland proposed to put the country into the current of European civilization, he found such ready support among the clergy and the common people, that his plans carried even against certain of the wild and lawless nobles. This is just one of the numerous instances that show the genuine co-operation between the Church and the people. The clergy seem to have developed the interests of all, rather than those of their own or some selected classes. This appears to explain the close union of Church and schools that exists to this day. The people have hardly felt the necessity of fighting an institution that was really in their control, and whose chiefs were occupied in a service that constantly called forth the best talents of the son of the poorest peasant of the realm.

The democratic character is very well demonstrated by the intimate connection that has always existed between the elementary and

secondary social grades. The Scottish Parish School has been a symbol of democracy. Further, access to the University has been easy. For centuries they were open to all who chose to enter, whether as graduating students or as students of particular subjects. Also, a University education in Scotland has always been much cheaper than in England. " The result was that in the middle of the last century the ratio, in Scotland, of University students to the total population was more than twice what it was in Germany, nearly six times what it was in England."[1] Thus, education has been widely diffused, which is another characteristic of a true democracy. It was a heritage to which all might aspire. It formed the basis of an association on terms of equality, regardless of previous rank or station. One must have a due appreciation of this century-old spirit, if the present-day interest and excellence of the Scottish schools are to be really grasped. It explains the progressive and advanced character of the Scottish Education Act of 1918, which is the main subject of our investigation.

2. *The Parish School*

The roots which explain the management of schools in Scotland are deeply imbedded in the centuries. Compulsory attendance, local control, generous treatment of the poor student, and finally the stress laid on the school and the merits of the teacher rather than on religious differences, form some of the foundation-stones upon which the whole school-structure has been erected. Ask any Scotsman how he explains his deeply-ingrained conviction regarding compulsory school-attendance. A frequent reply will be, " We have had compulsory school-attendance for more than four centuries."[2]

Probably some of the substantial traits of Scottish education rest upon forces that were in operation even before the Reformation. Prior to that period there were Grammar or Latin Schools in the principal towns, and below these there were lower schools where the rudiments were taught. The real impulse to educational advance dates from the time of the Reformation. We learn from the Book of Policy that " Every several Kirk was to have a Latin school, if the town were of any reputation; and in the country parts in every parish there was to be a school where the first rudiments would be taught." The sixteenth century records a series of important educational Acts that will explain a Church influence that obtains in the schools to this day.[3]

[1] Strong, John, *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, p. 2.

[2] The notion of compulsory attendance referred to is contained in the Statute of James IV (1494), which ordained that " all barrones and freeholders of substance should put their sons and heirs to the schools from 6 to 9, and keep them there until they should have perfect Latin."

[3] For details of this early legislation the reader is referred to Craik (Sir Henry), *The State in its Relation to Education*; also Strong, *History of Secondary Education in Scotland*.

The Act of 1696 is usually regarded as the Charter of Scotch education. It was a re-enactment of previously existing provisions, and such improvements as the experiences of the time seemed to warrant. It was the legal foundation of the Parish School. From this date nearly all parishes, except those lying in remote regions, seem to have been provided with a school-house and the salary for a teacher. It must be remembered that many of these Parish Schools served as direct avenues to the University. In the latter part of the eighteenth century they underwent considerable decline, owing to the niggardly salary paid to the schoolmaster. Beginning with 1803, we record a series of Acts that lead to material improvement in the salaries of the teachers, equipment and scholarship. "If confirmation were needed as to the kind and quality of the work of the Scottish 'elementary' schools, it was given in the rolls of the Humanity Classes in Edinburgh University where in the session 1863-4 it was found that 20 per cent. of the students have come direct from parish and similar schools. . . . One of the characteristic features of the parish school was the freedom with which it was frequented by pupils drawn from every rank of society. 'Upon its benches, the children of every rank in life had met and had contended for honours earned only by higher natural gifts or superior moral qualities. Those whom the accidents of rank and fortune had not yet separated had there formed friendships which had united the laird and the hind through life by mutual service and protection. Thus sentiment had overleaped the barriers which divides society into classes, to acknowledge the claims of personal feeling and to lift humble merit from obscurity.'"[1]

3. *The Burgh or Grammar School*

The Grammar or Latin schools already mentioned were carried over from pre-Reformation days down to 1872, from which dates the present national system of education. In the main, they were the schools for the middle-classes and they were managed and financed locally. There was little co-ordination or standardization amongst them, except such as was exercised by the Church. The fate and functions of each school varied with the material prosperity of the locality, and the spirit of the times. The element that was common to all was preparation for the University.

The Argyll Commission made a thorough report on these schools in 1868.[2] The high proportion of the population that was receiving secondary education is shown by the comparative figures. Approximately one in every 205 people attended the public Secondary Schools. At that same date the figures for other countries were: Prussia, one in 249; France, one in 570; England, one in 1,300.[3]

The average course of study began at the age of about nine years, and extended over a period of six or seven years. "With regard to

[1] Strong (John), *History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, p. 131.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 188.
[3] Strong (John), *History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, p. 188.

the pupils, and their studies, it was reported that mixed schools of boys and girls were the rule; the presence of the girls was thought both to civilize and stimulate the boys, and the opportunity of working with the boys was said to strengthen the judgment and to brace the mental faculties of the girls. Rather more than one-half of the pupils were under the age of twelve; while about 6 per cent. were over sixteen. They appear, too, to have been pretty hard worked, for it was estimated, they attended school for twice as many hours a year as the pupils in the three principal schools in England—Eton, Harrow, and Winchester. Nine hours a day for five days in the week were the average school hours.''[1] The reader cannot fail to note how widely these schools differed from those in England, France and Prussia. On the other hand their resemblance to American schools is most marked. It is one more proof that the Scottish immigrants put their stamp upon American education.

4. *A National System of Education*

In 1872 Scotland enacted legislation that served as the main basis of school-administration and organization, until the passage of the Scottish Education Act of 1918, which we make the subject of another division. The country was divided into school-districts, corresponding generally to parish or burgh-areas, and each district had its own Local Authority—a popularly-elected School Board. The management and control of all schools established by Statute, and all Academic High Schools and Grammar Schools was transferred to these School Boards. Their powers extended over questions of school-attendance, appointment and pay of teachers, and the building and equipping of schools.

The Parliament gave grants which were conditional on compliance with the regulations of the code. This meant central control to a considerable extent. The School Boards were left quite free to manage the Secondary Schools, since these received no Parliamentary grant. Besides, there was another important group that stood outside the system of Public Schools. These were either Endowed or Subscription Schools. The defect of the Act was the lack of provision of a common point of contact for the systems of secondary education. Nor was there any organic connection between the Elementary and the Secondary Schools. The Act imposed compulsory attendance to the age of thirteen years.[2] The country was ripe for such a provision, and there seems to have been no serious difficulty as to its enforcement from the start.

(*b*) The Scottish Education Act, 1918

The Scottish Act is very similar to the Fisher Act, which we have presented in some detail.[3] For that reason we shall confine our

[1] *Ibid*, p. 189.

[2] The Act of 1901 raised the compulsory age to fourteen years.

[3] See pp. 45-60.

discussion to points of contrast with that Act, and to the crucial changes that the Scottish Act brought to the school-administration and organization in Scotland.

Until 1918, the Local Authorities were the School Boards, of which there was one in each parish and borough. They numbered about 950. The 1918 Act has substituted the county- for the parish-area, thus reducing the Local Authorities to something like forty in number. This part of the law is already in operation, and makes it possible for each Authority to be self-sufficient in respect to all forms of education. On the whole, the new administrative divisions seem to be showing the expected advantages. The defects arising from the lack of co-ordination which we have noted elsewhere are disappearing. It brought the Voluntary (Denominational) Schools under the management of the new Authorities, and thus made it possible for such schools to receive aid in maintenance under certain conditions. Education could not be said to be really national so long as an important body of schools remained outside the management. The 1918 Act extended the range of the Authorities to include the instruction of all children and young persons from two to eighteen years.[1] Thus the child's school-life has been extended both at the beginning and at the end. The compulsory school-age for the Day School was raised to fifteen years.[2]

From the ages of fifteen to eighteen years attendance during the legal work-day upon Continuation Schools for at least 320 hours per year is made compulsory.[3] This indicates a great advance over the voluntary system, which has not been an unqualified success. In a city such as Glasgow, it is estimated that not over thirty per cent. of the pupils leaving school at the age of fourteen complete even one session at the Continuation School. The voluntary system failed to touch the majority who lacked perseverance and ambition.

The Act provides that the Education Authority may approve of plans for the accommodation of classes provided by employers,[4] but it may not delegate any of the powers and duties relating to the school management committees. According to the Act " it shall be lawful " for every Education Authority to make arrangements for supplying or aiding the supply of Nursery Schools for children from the ages of two to five, and for attending to the health, nourishment and physical welfare of children attending these schools.[5]

Previous to this Act, School Boards had power to arrange for the education of any child over three, and in 1917 Nursery Schools in

[1] This provision has not yet come into force. The " economy cry " which we have already noted in England could not be overcome. The delay in Scotland will in all likelihood not be long.

[2] The Fisher Act empowers the Local Authority to raise the age to fifteen.

[3] This clause has not come into force.

[4] The Fisher Act allows Works Schools to frame plans independently of the Local Authority. This appears to be a retrograde step, which may result in grave injustice to a large number of people.

[5] This clause is not yet in operation.

combination with hostels were established in Glasgow. The School Board of Glasgow considered it their duty to provide care for the orphans of soldiers and sailors, and for the children of mothers obliged to go out to work. The Act has laid much greater stress upon medical inspection and the supervision of young persons from infancy to adolescence. It will now be possible for the Education Authority to establish a closer relationship between the home, school and workshop conditions, and its duty will be to see that neither at home nor at school nor at work shall the child or the adolescent be subject to conditions that impair the body, and starve the mind.

Chapter VIII

IRELAND

(*a*) Primary Education before the Separation

Education in Ireland has a sad history. The past century of chaos in education is all the more disheartening when one remembers that the use of letters has existed longer in Ireland than in England. During a certain period in the Middle Ages Ireland enjoyed a reputation for her good schools that was recognized all over the Continent. But, for reasons into which we cannot enter here, Ireland has never been able to profit by her early start in the educational race.[1]

Since 1831 the Primary or National Schools were under the Commissioners of National Education. This Board of Education was not, as to its policy, subject to popular control, either local or parliamentary. As all its funds were voted by Parliament, the Treasury exercised a constant control over expenditure; otherwise, the Board was independent, and could shape the developmnt of elementary education practically as it pleased. The direct government of National Schools was in the hands of local managers recognized by the Board on their undertaking to see that the Board's rules were carried out. These local managers (in most cases clergy) appointed the teachers, subject to the approval of the Board in regard to qualifications, etc.; they could also dismiss the teachers subject to certain limitations.

The schools aided by the Commissioners came, broadly speaking, under two headings: those vested either in the Commissioners, or in Trustees under Deeds to which the Commissioners were a party for the purpose of being maintained as National Schools; and secondly, non-vested schools which included all other National Schools. There were also a certain number of Model Schools built and maintained by the State, and under the direct management of the Commissioners. The majority of schools, however, were of private or partially private ownership (the property either of the Church or of an individual).

[1] Perhaps it is safe to say that England's policy toward Ireland has been mostly to blame for the poor educational showing and general chaotic state that have obtained for over a century. On the other hand, there are a very large number of persons who might be regarded as impartial observers who are certain that the English attitude has shown steady improvement during the last half-century. Further, Great Britain's legislation for the last several years regarding Ireland has been considered by the majority of the outside world just and even generous. The fact that even American Catholics are showing marked signs of losing patience with the Sinn Feiners may be submitted as strong evidence of our contention.

The person who applied in the first instance to place the school in connection with the Commissioners was recognized as patron unless otherwise specified: where the school was vested in Trustees, the Trustees were the patrons; (in the case of a non-vested school, or a school vested in the Commissioners under the control of a recognized school-committee, the school-committee was patron).

With the administration and organization of this National System, it seems the Catholics were fairly well-satisfied. Their great dissatisfaction arose out of the claim that Parliament robbed Ireland of strict justice in financial appropriations. They complained bitterly about the rule of the British Treasury over their schools. In support of their argument they quoted Mr. Birrell, who was the Chief Secretary for Ireland before the War. He said he had not the heart to support the proposed Compulsory Act that was under discussion at the time, because he did not wish to be a party to pushing children into hovels that breed consumption. He asked the Government to pay the half-million pounds sterling of which Ireland was being plundered annually.[1] Now the British Government contended that Ireland was being paid more than her share of school-money.[2] Further, it was expected that she would supplement the parliamentary appropriation, by levying a local rate. But to this the Catholics objected.

"The system of local rating and control by local bodies leads logically and inevitably in the long run to 'No religious tests for teachers,' which in the concrete means that every teacher, whether Atheist, Agnostic, Jew or Protestant provided he is eligible on educational grounds, would have as much right to be appointed to teach Catholic children as Catholic teachers. For the State, having got the whole educational machinery into its clutches, proclaims that it has nothing to do with religion, and consequently religious distinctions cannot be recognized in State aided schools. The ultimate result of this is Secularism, pure and simple. The present makeshift in England of undenominational religious teaching without tests for teachers is not only inconsistent, but is an outrage on reason and religion alike."[3] [4] Both the Frenchman and the American may

[1] Hallinan (P. P.), *The Management of Primary Schools in Ireland*, Catholic Truth Society, Dublin.

[2] "A system under which each child educated in an Irish National School costs the Exchequer 62 per cent. more than a child educated in an English National School, cannot in fairness be described as 'injurious and unfair to Ireland.'" *Viceregal Committee of Enquiry into Primary Education (Ireland)*, 1918, p. 31.

[3] See *The Management of Primary Schools in Ireland*, by P. P. Hallinan, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 20. "If we would have a further object lesson of the results of local rating, laicisation of the schools, with local management under a democratic Government, we have only to turn to the history of unhappy France. There we have a nation that has been, and still is Catholic—a nation of missionaries and martyrs, a nation that subscribes more for the Propagation of the Faith than all the nations of Europe put together, a nation that held and deserved the name of 'eldest daughter of the Church.' What has been her

consider such an argument ridiculous. It is submitted to show the kind of facts that one is expected to accept when visiting schools in Ireland. The point of view is quite clear. The State is to furnish the clergy the money, and they will use it as seems best. "The real difficulty is nothing less than a difference of ideals. For the Roman Catholic, tolerance implies complete freedom of management, each denomination for himself."[1] In consequence, popular control of education comes into conflict with the belief that education is a matter that the Church has the right to control.

The attitude of the priests and the constant political disorders have had the effect of pushing education into the background. "This lack of interest in the schools is shown in a more definite fashion by the bad or irregular attendance at them, manifesting a great want of appreciation of the benefits of education on the part of many parents. In many cases, the average attendance is not more than sixty per cent. of those on the rolls of the school. We hear of children leaving school at ten years of age, or even younger, forsooth sufficiently educated members of the community; and there are, we fear, many children who never go to school. The number of adults in the country who are illiterate, or who barely escape this designation, is very regrettable. It constitutes a public danger, and is a reproach to a land that has been famous for its love of learning. The loss of education is not only an individual hardship, but it affects the welfare and advancement of society as a whole, and wherever the democratic principle prevails, there is a strong determination that all the units of society are to be educated, and well-educated, not alone out of sympathy with each child, but in order that the commonwealth may be saved from the evil consequences of ignorance and illiteracy. Bad and irregular attendance is also very unfair to the teacher. It upsets and retards his classes and is a cause of additional labour, and of serious annoyance to him. Nothing interferes more with the smooth

history? In those periods when the schools were under the control of the Church, education was more efficient and crimes diminished. When, however, the Church began to be excluded from the schools, and they were made lay and neutral, the birth-rate began to decrease, and crime increased enormously, so much so, that whilst in 1876, according to the statistics in the exhaustive articles by Fr. McDonnell in the *Leader*, when the process began, the number of criminals was on an average about 250,000 yearly, they gradually rose to the enormous number of 650,000. And the latest development of this State aggressiveness and monopoly of education is the closing of 20,000 schools taught by Religious Orders, and the driving of over 100,000 Religious teachers out of France, who cost the State nothing, and whose only crime was that they were Religious. And having accomplished this, to-day the Government is contemplating repressive legislation to suppress the growing lawlessness in the streets of Paris, where the use of the knife and revolver is alarmingly on the increase.

And in America, where the public schools are purely secular, we find, according to Mulhall, that in the Sing Sing Prison, there were in 1890, only 133 illiterates, and 1,420 educated prisoners. Of these latter, 1,403 were educated in the public schools, seventeen in other schools—the result of education without religion, of lay popular control under a democratic Government. And Irish Catholics are invited to establish a like system!"

[1] *The Times Educational Supplement*, August 27th, 1921.

working and efficiency of a school; and a teacher's salary which must have some relation to attendance, is affected. The expense of education per head is also increased."[1] "In Ireland, over 100,000 children are not on the roll of any school. Of those enrolled every school-day shows 220,300 absentees."[2]

(*b*) Intermediate Education before the Great War

The Intermediate Education Board created in 1878 and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction made grants to, and exercised some control over, Secondary Schools. The grants at first were distributed almost altogether on the results of written examinations, but lately a considerably larger sum was contributed to the schools on the results of inspection than on the results of examination. Grants were only paid in respect of pupils between the ages of twelve and nineteen, which meant that a very important part of the school—its preparatory classes—was thus subject to no supervision by the State Department, and received neither advice nor aid from it. This constituted a serious defect in the system.

The schools in receipt of these grants came under three heads as regards management: 1. those owned and controlled by religious communities; 2. those under regularly-constituted Boards of Governors; 3. those under private ownership and conducted for private profit. Of the girls' schools the great majority, apart from convent-schools, come under the third class; of the boys' schools, on the other hand, the majority are controlled by religious Committees or by Boards of Governors.

It seems to be admitted on all sides that much of the disorder in Irish education was due to the independent systems of administrative machinery. There was no single Central Authority for primary, intermediate and technical education. There was almost no correlation among any of the types.[3]

(*c*) The Universities

The government of the Universities in Ireland has not been changed; they function under their original charters. On the other hand, it is understood that should any change or addition to such charters be desired, application would in the South be to the Free State Government, and in the North to the Ministry of Education and Northern Government. Queen's University, Belfast, is an autonomous body, and cannot without special legislation be put under the control of the Ministry of Education. At the same time, the Committee anticipates that the University will adopt a healthful attitude towards its proposals, and the policy adopted by the Ministry of Education.

[1] *Report of the Viceregal Committee of Enquiry in Primary Education (Ireland)*, 1918, p. 5.

[2] *The Times Educational Supplement*, September 3rd, 1921.

[3] Most complete and authentic information on intermediate education is presented by the Viceregal Committee on Intermediate Education (Ireland), 1919.

(*d*) Education in Northern Ireland

1. *The Primary Schools*

Although the new Government has been in power for some little time, education and educational administration are still in the nature of tentative issues. The old order has ceased to a great extent to function, the new is not yet established though the problem of education has not been ignored. One of the first acts of the new Ministry was to appoint a Committee to inquire into and report on the Educational Services in Northern Ireland. The Committee was appointed in September, 1921, and its Interim Report which has been published recently must necessarily form the basis of our present inquiry. At the same time, it should be recognized that we are dealing with recommendations rather than with an established system. But there is no doubt that these recommendations, when subsequent legislation gives them full effect, will in a very large measure form the basis of educational administration in Northern Ireland. All the powers formerly held by the Commissioners have since passed to the new Ministry of Education, which is to become responsible for all branches of education with the exception of the University.

Educational control in Northern Ireland has been unified under a Minister, a Parliamentary Secretary, and a Permanent Secretary. But for facility of administration the Committee has recommended that there should be two Assistant Secretaries, one for primary, and the other for secondary and technical education. In addition, it was recommended that there should be a representative Advisory Council to advise or make representations to the Minister and to be consulted by him. (Representation on this Council is given to all interests, and it is to a certain extent a substitute for the old Boards.)

In regard to the organization of the Primary Schools, County Borough, Urban Districts, and Rural Districts are proposed as the units for local administration. The adoption of the Council system, like that of England and Scotland, was suggested, but was rejected on the grounds that the time was not ripe for it, and that a smaller unit was necessary if local administration was to follow its natural lines of development. It is not intended that the Councils should have direct relations with the schools in their area. It will be their function to finance the schemes of Local Education Committees who will administer the funds obtained from local rates and grants in aid thereof made by the Ministry. It is recognized that the great majority of school-buildings are not the property of the State, but of the Churches or of private individuals, and that it would not be desirable or possible for the State to purchase the buildings outright. Consequently, for the working of the scheme, the schools are divided into three classes, the first consisting of schools in which Local Committees would be managers; the second consisting of schools controlled by Committees of six persons, four representing the managers (i.e., the single authorities in whose hands the appointment and dismissal of teachers have hitherto rested), and the Local Education Committee.

The third class would consist of schools under individual managers—that is, it would consist of schools in the position in which nearly all the National Schools of the country, with the exception of the Model Schools, have hitherto been. The Committee hopes that the last two classes will gradually disappear, and in order to hasten their disappearance, it recommends that financial support out of public money be given to the schools in inverse ratio to their independence of public control. These changes will probably take some time to effect. The scheme, broadly, is one of local administration under the supervision of the Ministry, for all actions of Local Education Committees are subject to the approval of the Ministry, and, in the event of a Local Education Committee (primary or technical) neglecting or refusing satisfactorily to discharge its duties, the Ministry may take its place.

The Committee up to the time of the publication of the Interim Report had been giving prior consideration in its cities to those elements of the education question on which legislation would be required. No revision of the subject-matter in Primary or Secondary Schools has been made as yet. Such a revision comes under the head of reforms which can without express Parliamentary sanction be carried out in the ordinary course of administration—reforms which the Committee proposes to consider at a later date. If any revision is made, it will be interesting to compare it with the schedules in the South, where the primary and secondary curricula have been examined by Committees appointed by Dail Eireann, and where programmes of work based on their recommendations are already being followed.

Neither is any mention of inspection made in the Interim Report. Under the Commissioners of National Education, every school (in touch with the Board) had to be visited by its inspector three times in each year. The inspectors reported to the Commissioners on the observance of their rules, the sanitary conditions of schoolrooms and premises, proficiency of pupils, discipline, management and methods of instruction, etc. Under the new Act, these powers pass, of course, to the Ministry, and it is unlikely that any school, Catholic or Protestant, in receipt of State aid will be subject to a less stringent inspection.

We come now to the question of financial control. The State (through the Commissioners of National Education) originally paid the salaries of the teachers, but (with the exception of the Model Schools) all other charges—for upkeep, heating, etc.—had to be raised by the management locally, and by voluntary collections (e.g., church collections). No charge on the rates was allowed (in the case of technical education, a statutory limit of 2d. in the £ could be raised by County Borough, Urban and Rural District for the purpose). The State will continue to be responsible for the salaries of teachers, and will give substantial aid in the provision of new school-buildings, but any other aid given will, in the future, be in proportion to the degree of control exercised over any particular school by the Local Committee. The three classes into which schools will be divided have already been given. The Committee accordingly recommends: "In

the case of Class I schools, the Local Committee for Primary Education should as managers provide for the maintenance, repair, furnishing, and the cleansing, heating, and equipment. In the case of Class II schools, the Local Committee should be responsible for half the cost of maintenance, repairs, furnishing, and equipment, and all the cost of heating and cleansing. In the case of both these classes of schools, the Ministry should make a grant in aid to the Local Committee for heating and cleansing: in drawing up regulations for this grant, the Ministry should aim at making it approximately half the cost. In the case of Class III schools, the Ministry should make a grant in aid to the manager for heating and cleansing at the same rate as in Classes I and II, but such schools should receive no aid from local rates."

There is every reason to believe that compulsory attendance is to be more strictly enforced in the future than in the past, when it was largely optional on the Local Authorities. The Committee has devoted several pages of its report to this subject, recommending that the law be made universal in its application; that its procedure be greatly accelerated; and that the penalties attached to its non-observance be made so severe that it will no longer be profitable to treat it with contempt. The age-limit is to be six to fourteen years, and the fact that a child under fourteen has reached any given standard of proficiency should not warrant his exemption from the obligation to attend school. Attendance is to be enforced by the Local Committee out of funds at its disposal, but if the Committee fails in its duties, these are to be performed by the Ministry, and expenses defrayed out of local rates. Fines imposed under compulsory-attendance regulations are to be paid over to the Local Committee. Greater stringency is also recommended as regards the employment of children.

No effort has been made in Northern Ireland to adopt the Irish language as the official language in the Elementary Schools, and it may be said that such an eventuality is of all the least likely. The Ministry has promised to afford the same facilities for the teaching of Irish as an extra subject outside school-hours, as existed before under the rule of the Commissioners of National Education; but this is as far as concession for the present is likely to go.

It may almost be said that the population of Ulster falls naturally into two divisions, in which the religious and the political factors play equal parts. The one consists of Roman Catholics, whose sympathies are Nationalist, pro-Irish, and who, in many cases refuse to recognize the Northern Government: the other consists of Protestants, who in the main look altogether towards the British tradition, and are suspicious of any attempt to promote unity with a "Dublin Government."

A paragraph from the report of this Committee affords an interesting side-light upon the question, and its length may perhaps be forgiven for that reason. "It is greatly to be regretted that on this Committee, reflecting as it does almost every other shade of opinion in the six counties, Roman Catholic interest has not been directly represented.

We understand, however, that the responsibility for this circumstance rests entirely with the Roman Catholics themselves, as invitations to serve on the Committee were issued to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and were in every case refused. . . . We hope that, notwithstanding the disadvantage at which we were placed by this action, it will be found that Roman Catholic interests have not suffered. We have throughout been careful to keep in mind, and to make allowance for the particular points of view of Roman Catholics in regard to education, so far as known to us, and it has been our desire to refrain as far as we could from recommending any course which might be thought to be contrary to their wishes. We gladly acknowledge their zeal and pecuniary sacrifices in the provision of schools, their co-operation in the enforcement of compulsory attendance, and their support in the development of technical education. We should have been both gratified and helped by their presence at our meetings."[1]

The reasons for abstention were, of course, largely political. Since then, Sir James Craig has read a report from Lord Londonderry (Minister of Education) in the Parliament of Northern Ireland (October 11th), in which he points out that " the lines of control of the Ministry have been accepted by all loyal Protestant teachers . . . it was hoped that the attitude adopted by some of the Roman Catholic teachers and managers would be discontinued in the near future."

The average annual remuneration of principal and assistant teachers in Primary Schools is now in the case of a master £350, and in the case of a mistress £226. (This is a higher rate than Secondary School teachers have hitherto been given.) The Committee has therefore not considered the question of improved rates. The teachers, we understand, are fully satisfied, and only fear the possibility of a reduction at some future date.

The religious denominations of pupils in National schools in Northern Ireland on December 31, 1921, were:—

Roman Catholics	69,285
Late Established Church	51,922
Presbyterians	66,017
Methodists	6,570
Others	4,468
Total	198,262

These statistics are of interest, and indeed no consideration of our subject would be complete without reference to the religious question, and the provisions made for the giving of religious instruction in the schools. It must have become evident already that in Ireland, more than in almost any other country, education is largely controlled by, or under the supervision of, the several denominations. One " of the main objects of the system of National Education in Ireland," as set

[1] See *The Times Educational Supplement*, December 9, 1922.

forth in the rules and regulations of the Commissioners, was " to afford combined literary and moral and separate religious instruction to children of all persuasions as far as possible in the same school, on the fundamental principle that no attempt shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any description of Christian pupils. It is the earnest wish of His Majesty's Government and of the Commissioners that the clergy and laity of the different denominations should co-operate in conducting National schools." This is excellent in theory, but it has never been done, and it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that one must presuppose an altogether changed Ireland before such a system would become possible. The most elaborate precautions were provided by the Rules of the Commissioners to prevent a child from being present at any religious instruction of which his parents or guardians disapproved, but in actual fact it might be said that such precautions were almost unnecessary.

In most towns and villages in Ireland, two schools are to be found—one under the management of the local priest taught by a Roman Catholic teacher, and attended by Roman Catholic children—the other, attended by Protestants, taught by a Protestant, and with the clergyman of the district as manager or patron. In these schools, religious instruction would be given for half an hour daily by the teacher either at the commencement or close of the school-day, supplemented probably by a weekly visit from the cleric in charge. In addition, there was in many cases a system of diocesan inspection and examination (voluntary) whereby the churches examined the children in religious knowledge from time to time. It will be seen that such a system multiplied unnecessarily the number of small schools in Ireland, and defeated the avowed object of " combined literary and moral instruction for children of all persuasions." It did. On the other hand no other system was possible.

This, then, is the system that prevails in Ireland at present, and in all probability will continue to prevail. The Committee has recommended that strict care should be taken that the existing rules and regulations of the Commissioners of National Education with reference to religious instruction should be continued. " The churches should prescribe the programme of religious instruction for their own children, either separately or in agreement among themselves, but it will not be obligatory upon teachers in schools of Class I to teach any part of the prescribed programme which requires catechetical or other instruction in the denominational tenets of any persuasion. A teacher may voluntarily give such instruction, if he has the approval of the authorities of the church, and of the parents to whose children the instruction is given. The right of entry of the clergy or others to whom the parents or guardians of the children do not object, to give scriptural and denominational instruction at fixed and stated hours with facilities for examination and inspection at other times should be given in all schools of Classes I and II. The persons entitled to right of entry to a school or group of schools should be those appointed thereto by the authorities of the churches."

2. *Secondary Education*

The Committee has made certain recommendations in regard to the management of Secondary Schools. They propose that after the lapse of one year no school conducted for private profit should receive aid from the Ministry, and have laid down the conditions on which Preparatory Schools and preparatory departments of Secondary Schools may be aided. Private Schools to receive State aid, must in the future be controlled by a Board of Governors (which may be a Local Education Committee) and must not be farmed out to the principal. In these schools, all teachers (including the principal) should be paid fixed salaries in accordance with the scales laid down by the Ministry. These schools should also comply generally with the regulations of the Ministry relating to Secondary Schools. No school receiving grants from the Ministry will be allowed to employ any teacher whose qualifications do not satisfy the Ministry, or whose work after his third year of service cannot be recognized as satisfactory, and a register is to be formed by the Ministry of such qualified secondary teachers.

The payment of Secondary School teachers in Ireland has up to the present been deplorable, on a far lower scale even than that of Great Britain prior to reform. The scale proposed now by the Committee is for men: £240 per annum rising to £500 by annual increments of £15—non-resident. Of this, the minimum is to be paid by the governing bodies, the remainder, by the Ministry. In addition, aid may be given to Secondary Schools in the form of capitation-grants varying *pro rata* with the total number of pupils in respect of whom grants are payable. It will be seen by all this that the importance of secondary education to the community has been fully recognized, and that Secondary Schools in Northern Ireland will for the future be under closer State supervision than hitherto.

A Bill embodying the recommendations of the Committee for both the Primary and Secondary Schools will be introduced in February, 1923. It is believed that such a measure will become law, without any essential changes in the form in which it will be presented.

(*e*) Education in the Irish Free State

Southern Ireland is still so torn by civil dissension that any genuine progress in education can as yet scarcely be discerned. The organization of the schools is very similar to that of the old *régime*. The school-managers (clergymen in most cases) still appoint the teachers except in the case of the Model Schools. For such institutions, the teachers are appointed by the Ministry of Education which has taken the place of the former National Commissioners.

The Dail Eireann has heard a great many proposals for the training of teachers and the re-organization of the schools, but nothing definite has resulted thus far. In the meantime, educational affairs are left to tradition and indifference. The Dail Eireann has appointed a Committee to study the question of revising the curriculum. Meanwhile,

the new Education Department has already taken some steps in this direction.

All work in the Infants' Standard is to be in Irish, and, in all Standards, Irish history and geography are to be taught in the same language. So also with singing and drill. It is said that not more than twenty per cent. of the teachers at the present time are competent to carry out these provisions of the programme. The Gaelic League is pushing the study of Irish to extremes. The Cork branch suggested recently that in the future all letters from the Office of National Education, and all public notices, be issued in Irish only, and that it be put on the same footing with English in all school-examinations. The Dublin printing-presses are feverishly responding to the demands for Irish and more Irish. Soon we are to have an Irish text-book of Latin grammar and composition, designed for Secondary Schools. Recently a member of the Dail threatened to vote against a modest request for a subsidy to the University of Dublin, unless an assurance were given that Gaelic games would be played by the Trinity students.

PART II

FRANCE

Chapter I

THE FORCES THAT DOMINATE THE FRENCH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

(*a*) The Lycée and College take First Place

The Secondary Schools of France exercise a most extraordinary influence over all other forms of education. This is not unlike what we found in our study of the English system. However, the French Lycées and Colleges owe their power over elementary and higher education to sources that differ almost diametrically from those that obtain across the Channel. An attempt at comparison ends in a series of contrasts.[1] The English Public School, besides being, as a rule, well-endowed, is supported by relatively high fees; it is independent in its government; the head-master makes his own curriculum and practically controls the appointment of his whole staff. The French Lycée has little in the way of endowed funds; it is quite dependent for financial support and for its administration upon the Central Government; the *proviseur* (director) has little opportunity for initiative, being reduced almost to a functionary; the curriculum is standardized for all schools; little time is given to athletics. The

[1] "Education, too, is both better and cheaper in France than in England. The best schools in France cost only about £16 a year, with the result that people can send their sons and daughters to a lycée who in England could not possibly afford a similar education. The public schools in France are really public and are not, like the English institutions miscalled by that name, nurseries of snobbery. The French universities are equally inexpensive and democratic, and are available for any boys and girls whose parents can afford to keep them without earning their living up to the age of twenty or thereabouts. The consequence is that it is much more easy in France than in England for the son of a workman or a peasant to rise to eminence in a learned profession or in politics. Many of the leading French politicians have risen from the ranks." Dell, Robert, *My Second Country*, p. 29. This writer is an Englishman who has lived many years in France. We shall have occasion to quote from him elsewhere. His views appear a little exaggerated at times, both in his praise and condemnation of French institutions and character. However, his work is worth reading. He knows the French people.

former boasts that it trains character; the latter takes a special pride in the claim that it gives culture and knowledge. Perhaps the only common heritage is tradition. In both countries the people show a high degree of contentment in being governed by the things that were, rather than by the things that are, or by the anticipation of the necessities that will be.

In order that the reader may have a just appreciation of how widely and how deeply the French Lycées and Colleges are rooted in French life, it will be necessary to take certain facts of their history and the ideals and pedagogical methods of their earliest teachers under close consideration. Herein must lie the true explanation of their illustrious past and the secret of their rule over French educational practice to this day. "Ampère recognized three revivals of learning in France: the first dates from Charlemagne; the second falls at the end of the eleventh century; the last is the great Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."[1]

This thesis is not concerned with the Charlemagne period, since there is little or nothing that dates from that time that can be said to be a force in present-day French education. Neither shall we have occasion to dwell at length upon the second period, although the present French Universities do date from then. There has been no great change or question of reform of the Universities anywhere since 1914, hence there could be no object in seeking a discussion in that field. However, the third period, which covers the Renaissance, must occupy our attention. For it was the founding in 1540 by Loyola of the Society of Jesus, commonly known as Jesuits, that laid the cornerstone around which French education has been centred for over three centuries.

The success of the Jesuits seems to have been due to a variety of causes. Among the first of these may be mentioned the military character of their discipline and their efficiency in teaching. Everything was carefully arranged and carried out punctually. Spontaneity and any tendency to individuality were suppressed. The whole programme was supported by a religious enthusiasm, a determinism without limit, and a complete subordination of all personal interest. Their instruction was gratuitous.

For the purposes of our thesis, it is of no great concern to learn that the Order has been suppressed at various periods within the past centuries. After a time they have always succeeded in coming back to power and it is an open secret that their new inroads on France, since 1918, are the source of no small amount of anxiety on the part of those who believe that the true path to civilization lies in the direction of democracy.

The point that is essential, however, is this: whenever a rival Order,

[1] Farrington, Frederic E., *French Secondary Schools*, p. 16. This work is among the best standard authorities in the English language on French secondary education. The volume: *The French Primary School System of France* by the same author is to be equally commended for scholarship and clearness of presentation.

be it the Oratorians or the Port-Royalists,[1] came into power, the method of instruction remained very much the same. All acknowledged the supremacy of the Church and gave Latin the preponderance in the curriculum. The points that distinguished the Port-Royalists from the others was the emphasis which they laid upon the French language, and the substitution of Descartes for the remnants of the scholasticism that still prevailed in the Colleges of the Jesuits. In this we do see a groping toward a certain independence. The Port-Royalists were crushed in 1660, but their spirit still lives in the French Lycée of to-day.

The Oratorians differed from both the other Orders in the special emphasis which they put upon history, mathematics, and physics. "Thus we find that the classics have ceased to monopolize the instruction of the colleges, and the courses are being framed more and more with the idea of turning out boys with an all-round equipment, with a liberal education."[2]

In 1764, the Order of Jesuits being suppressed, the Oratorians acquired many of the Colleges belonging to their former rivals.

In France, as in England and Germany, the subject of education has furnished the battle-ground for some of the bitterest political and religious controversies, and, in the opinion of the writer, the end is not yet. The struggles in France, up to the founding of the Third Republic, differed from the other two countries in that the participation of the people in these struggles was a minimum. The fights here were among the rival groups of the upper classes and not against a growing class-consciousness that was trying to find self-expression in independent institutions. The support which grew out of the Reformation in other States was wanting here. France did start on the same route as Germany, England and Scotland; for a time the Reformation gained a strong foothold, and in consequence many Protestant Colleges were established. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's and the Reign of Terror that followed brought to an end nearly all the reforms and left the reactionists dominant in the field. Even to this day, one meets many French people who will admit that French institutions and educational practices have not yet overcome the serious intellectual and cultural losses sustained in consequence of these massacres and persecutions. "One may believe," says a French writer, "that Protestantism, if it had triumphed in France, if it had not been hunted out during the religious wars before being exterminated by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, would have given us what we have hardly obtained to-day after three hundred years of struggle and effort, a strong organization of primary instruction."[3] Other countries are proud to acknowledge their debt to the

[1] For a more detailed statement of the differences in these various schools, see *Histoire de l'Enseignement Secondaire en France,* 1802-1920, by Georges Weill.

[2] Farrington, Frederic E., *French Secondary Schools,* p. 48.

[3] Compayré, *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France depuis le Seizième Siècle,* pp. 457-458. Written in 1879 before the passage of the great fundamental laws which underlie the fine primary school-system of France to-day. Text and note cited by Farrington, in *French Secondary Schools,* p. 40.

Huguenots who fled from France during those years of persecution. The Huguenots who settled in North and South Carolina form one of the finest stocks of America. The families of high class, both in England and Germany, who are proud to trace their lineage to the old Huguenot families of France, show what an element of force and prosperity was sacrificed to the orgies of fanaticism.

The preceding pages make it evident that the Church had no outside rivals and that such disturbances as did arise were clearly the product of her own system of education and government.

One more characteristic needs to be brought to the attention of the reader if he is to thoroughly understand the hold which the secondary system of education exercises over all education in France: that is its oraganization.[1]

In 1802 we reach the date that marks the complete reorganization of the scheme of public instruction which laid the foundation of secondary education as it exists to-day. For the purposes of our thesis, no great profit could accrue to the reader by reviewing the fate of the Lycées and Colleges under the Empire, the Restoration and Louis-Philippe.[2] During the last century there have been certain changes in administration and curriculum, but no fundamental alterations have been made.

The French Lycées completed their story a hundred years ago. Napoleon gave them their organization and the Jesuits their spirit and pedagogical methods. Perhaps we can best complete this phase of our subject by proposing certain questions and then submitting the answers.

1. Why are the French Lycées and Colleges so popular?
2. Why is it so difficult to secure reform in the French system of education?

In answer to the first question, we begin by saying that these institutions give a training that meets requirements particularly prized by the French people. First, they do give exceptional scholarship. One might raise questions as to whether the students learn the things most useful to them and to the State, and whether the acquirement of knowledge is accompanied by increased capacity for direction and growth.[3]

But the typical Lycée student's capacity for study and his devotion to set tasks, such as the writing of themes and essays, cannot be questioned.

The writer is having ample opportunity of witnessing the exhibition of scholarship among a large number of University students who have

[1] See p. 104.

[2] For detailed accounts of these periods, see *Histoire de l'Enseignement Secondaire en France*, by Georges Weill.

[3] The French secondary system does have its critics, even in France. See Le Bon, Gustave, *Psychologie de l'Education*, p. 98-112. In the opinion of the writer, this well-known author's criticisms give too dark a picture of the Lycées. They possess nearly all the faults mentioned, but there are also points of excellence that are not paralleled in any other country.

just left the Lycées. He is impressed by their serious attitude towards their studies and their apparent joy in work. For one who is quite familiar with the usual attitude towards class-lectures and responsible tasks prevalent in other countries, among students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, the French attitude is refreshing. Thus our question is answered. The popularity of the Lycée is based upon certain definite merits.

For that reason alone it is not going to be easy to make fundamental changes that might imperil such prized achievements in a national system of education.

Let us now proceed to our second question. On its answer rests much of the justification for the title that heads this division. We have noted that the French system is highly-centralized. The reason for the difficulty in effecting changes is simple enough. The French like what they have. If it had not suited the French character and temperament even a Napoleon could not have imposed it upon them. The Lycée is the heart of the whole hierarchy of education. Its organization, administration and curriculum are suited admirably, in every detail, to favouring the continuance in power of the present ruling classes. French society is highly stratified; hence, why should one really expect to find a democratic school-system? There are those who imagine that the people are in power here. It is only imagination!

The curriculum and administration of the Lycée afford a permanent check in the path of real democratic life and government. This is secured by several nicely-adjusted provisions. First, a small tuition-fee is charged. It is not enough to amount to any real aid in defraying the expenses of the institution, but it does serve as a barrier to keep some ambitious but poor children from attending. It is a check on democracy, and that is its real function, all denials notwithstanding! Of course we are told that there are *des bourses* (scholarships) for the poor and talented children.[1] We have examined that argument and found that it has been abundantly proved that very few of these so-called *bourses* ever come to the children of the masses. As we have already noted in the case of England, the middle and upper classes of France do manage, after a time, to take even the little that was theoretically intended for the aspirations of talent in its effort to rise from the ranks.

Secondly, the curriculum centres on the classics. The methods of instruction and the whole atmosphere of the institution are very far divorced from a present-day world. Now it has been shown that such provisions are not the only requisites that will secure high culture. In fact we know that even a better culture can be obtained by making the curriculum centre in the life that is now in action.[2] Without

[1] Scholarships (*bourses*) for secondary education in 1917-18 allowed 320 boy-candidates and 126 girl-candidates from Primary Schools to enter the category of the privileged *boursiers* (scholarship-holders) who form one-twentieth of the 150,000 pupils in Secondary Schools.

[2] See Roman, *La Place de la Sociologie dans l'Education*, chaps. XIII and XIV.

attempting to disparage the merits of the present curriculum, we must add that it must be considered somewhat in the light of a luxury. It is retained that way in order to enforce class-distinctions. Many poor families could make the sacrifice necessary for securing an instruction that combined culture and utility. Only the middle and upper classes can afford to have their children pursue objects of culture only. The Lycée lends itself to the interests of the latter group which will be slow in allowing any fundamental change in an educational system that grants them such a monopoly of social and political power.

A further difficulty on the road to reform is the force of the powerful reaction that is arising again from the partisans of the Church. Latin is the sacred language. It serves several useful purposes, not the least important of which is its utility as a barrier between the rulers and the ruled. The Church needs docility. Here it has a common interest with the governing classes. A certain degree of ignorance among the people must be maintained in order to keep them in awe. So long as Latin can be made the only key that unlocks the gateways to influence in society, and the portals of Colleges, Theological Institutes and Seminaries, the Church will be assured of an important and perhaps controlling voice in all the vital issues of every-day life.

(*b*) The Old Order is being Challenged

1. *The Precarious Situation of Elementary Education before the Revolution*

The attempts at plans to educate the masses have a much shorter and more meagre history in France than in England or in Germany. In no other domain of education is the failure of the Reformation in France more clearly marked. In the fifteenth century the laity made some effort to found lay schools, but finally all such efforts were successfully crushed by the Church.[1] Again, in the sixteenth century, the Estates called the attention of the sovereign to the want of Elementary Schools. Little was done, however.[2]

The real beginnings of the education of the poor are generally credited to the "Society of the Brethren of the Christian Schools." This order was founded in 1679, by Jean Baptiste de la Salle, a canon of the Cathedral of Rheims. He drew up a complete set of Statutes for his schools and composed a handbook of Method. For the first time Latin was excluded from a course of studies. He substituted group-instruction for individual teaching, which had prevailed hitherto. At the time of his death, 1719, his Order was established in eight dioceses. In 1785 it was reckoned that 30,000 children were being taught in these schools.

Other societies of less importance undertook the education of the poor. However, it seems that the great majority of the masses, in the

[1] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 13.

days before the Revolution, were untouched by education of any kind. This was the opinion of Matthew Arnold, who made a thorough study of popular education in France in 1861. He says: "The instruction of the mass of the poor remained very nearly what it had been in the middle ages. In conversing with middle-aged working men in the French provinces, I found almost invariably that my informant himself had attended school; more rarely, that his father had attended it; that his grandfather had attended it, never."[1] The education of the grandfather may be taken as typical of his day.

Nevertheless, the eighteenth century was not without writers and statesmen who made substantial contributions that resulted in programmes and legislation tending to strengthen the cause of popular education. Rousseau belongs to this group, despite his statement in *Emile*: "The poor man has no need of education." Such an expression must be regarded as inconsistent with his more fundamental contributions to education. His title to fame rests on his philosophy that man is born good, and that it is the business of education to give man freedom to attain the fullest self-realization. The acceptance of such a doctrine must necessarily lead to democratic education.

La Chalotais taught that the peasantry ought not to be neglected in a system of instruction. Finally, it remained for Turgot and Rolland to urge the cause of equality of educational opportunities.

The Revolution afforded the first real evidence that the demand for popular education was strong enough to secure definite expression in law.

The Constitution of September 3rd, 1792, decreed: "There shall be created and organized a public instruction, common to all citizens, gratuitous in respect of those branches of tuition which are indispensable for all men. Its establishments shall be distributed gradually, in a proportion combined with the division of the kingdom." This programme seems to have been premature. French society was not prepared for an era of reasonableness at one fell stroke. A long rule of vested interests, superstition and tyranny could not be thrown off by an act of legislation. "'What,' I ventured to ask M. Guizot, 'did the French Revolution contribute to the cause of popular education?' '*Un déluge de mots*,' replied M. Guizot, '*rien de plus*.' As regards the material establishment of popular instruction, this is unquestionably true. Yet on its future character and regulation the Revolution has unquestionably exercised an influence which every Frenchman takes for granted that an enquirer understands, and which we in England must not overlook. It established certain conditions under which any future system of popular education must inevitably constitute itself. It made it impossible for any Government of France to found a system which was not *lay*, and which was not *national*."[2]

[1] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, p. 21.

[2] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, pp. 29-30.

2. *The Nineteenth Century records Great Progress*

Just at the time when secondary education was receiving an organization that completed a stature of two centuries of growth and tradition, primary education was only beginning to have a recognized existence. The same law of 1802, which so completely organized secondary education, made a few modest provisions for Primary Schools. The *commune* was to furnish the school-house for the teacher; but, for his support, he had to depend upon the payment of his pupils. Probably the order that put these schools under the supervision of Municipal Authorities, and these, in turn, under the Prefects, is a matter of no little interest. Eventually, this method meant supervision by the people, even if we must admit that, at the time of the establishment of this order, it simply meant that Napoleon had substituted himself for the Church. "The operation of the law of 1802 had wrought little change in the primary schools. In a statistical report of the Department of Vaucluse, published in 1808 by authority of the Prefect, nearly the same picture is drawn of their condition as the Councils-General had drawn in 1801. Nearly one half of the *communes* are without any school at all. Where schools exist, they are often under the care of teachers now old and infirm; when these teachers are gone, there is no one to take their place."[1] In 1809 a certain Prefect describes the method by which teachers were nominated: "The modes in which primary teachers are nominated," he says, "are extremely various; in some cantons they have to be examined before a jury; in others, the municipal council expresses its wishes; in others, again, the teacher is empowered to open school on his mere personal request, accompanied by the consent of the inhabitants, who enter into no engagement to maintain him."[2]

After all, Napoleon was too much of a destroyer to be the builder of a thorough-working structure of primary education. The country-districts were constantly harassed and swept by conscription. It was not a time to think about schools.

In 1833 elementary education began in earnest. The present system of primary instruction really dates from the law of that year, proposed by M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, and reported by M. Cousin of the Commission which examined it. M. Cousin's idea on liberty marks a real advance in social responsibility: "The principle of liberty admitted as an only principle, would be an invincible obstacle to the universality of instruction, since it is precisely the most necessitous districts that private adventure visits least."[3] The doctrine of the *Compagnons*, at the present day, is merely a logical development of that philosophy. What had been facultative now became obligatory. The new law determined what primary instruction was to embrace and the kind of schools to be established. Further, it called into existence responsible Authorities to put the plan

[1] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[2] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, p. 39.
[3] See M. Cousin's report in the *Moniteur* of May 22nd, 1833.

into execution. The whole machinery was to be set into operation by a joint-action of the *commune*, the department and the State. "If the commune possessed sufficient resources of its own to maintain its elementary school, well and good. Some had foundations, gifts and legacies, for the maintenance of schools; some had large communal property. In the Vosges, for instance, there are communes possessing great tracts of the beech forests with which those mountains are clothed, whose annual income amounts to several thousand pounds sterling. Where the existing resources were insufficient it was to tax itself to an amount not exceeding three centimes in addition to its ordinary direct taxation; if this was insufficient, the department was to tax itself, in order to aid this and similarly placed schools, to an amount not exceeding two centimes in addition to its ordinary direct taxation. If this was still insufficient the Minister of Public Instruction was to supply the deficiency out of funds annually voted by the Chambers for the support of education."[1]

M. Guizot was known for his zeal and devotion to the great cause of popular education. He belonged to a group who strove to awaken the spirit of local interest and independent activity which has always been, and is to this day, the great want in France. "The results of the law of 1833 were prodigious. The thirteen normal schools of 1830 had grown in 1838 to seventy-six; more than 2,500 students were, in the latter year, under training in them. In the four years from 1834 to 1838, 4,557 public schools, the property of the communes, had been added to the 10,316 which existed in 1834. In 1847 the number of elementary schools for boys had risen from 33,695 which it reached in 1834, to 43,514; the number of scholars attending them from 1,654,828 to 2,176,079. In 1849, the elementary schools were giving instruction to 3,530,135 children of the two sexes. In 1851, out of the 37,000 communes of France, 2,500 only were without schools; through the remainder there were distributed primary schools of all kinds to the number of 61,481."[2]

In 1850, a reaction swept away much of the law of 1833. The Authorities in whom primary instruction was vested were changed. "The law of March 15th, 1850, clearly placed the public school teacher under the guardianship of the 'local scholastic authorities.' In articles 18 and 44 it prescribed that each primary school shall be guided and inspected by 'the mayor, and the priest, pastor or Jewish delegate.' Entrance to the school shall always be allowed to the 'ministers of the various religions, especially charged with the direction of religious instruction in the schools.' It is from these local authorities that the teacher must, in pursuance of the ruling of 1851, obtain permission for absence because of any serious or unexpected circumstances. At the end of the Second Empire, Vauclin, a primary inspector, tells us in his *Mémoires d'un Instituteur français*, 'Before entering the schools, I was obliged to visit the local school authorities,

[1] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, p. 52-3.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 55-6.

because their influence with the political powers was very great and equal to that of the inspector in every respect. . . . It was from these local authorities that the inspector received all information regarding the manner in which the teachers of the schools performed their professional and political duties, their relations with the inhabitants, etc. I had to invite these officials to be present at the inspection, and it was considered correct to ask them to question the pupils.' ''[1]

How did the teacher succeed in his relations with the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities? A report of the inspectors of the Academy, issued in 1863, is instructive on that question. "From these reports, we may affirm that harmony reigns, at least apparently, between most of the teachers and the local school authorities. The various inspectors of the Academy note with pleasure that there is mutual understanding, and, on the whole, exceptions to this are rare. . . . . However, the inspectors of the Academy do mention a few exceptions and it is interesting to glance through their reports to find out the general and particular causes. One of the general causes is found in the notes of the inspector of the department of Doubs: 'The mayors and the priests, in particular, habitually look upon the teacher as merely a servant who must obey all their orders and follow all their caprices. Instead of treating him with the consideration that his devotion, even more than his profession, deserves, he is treated as a domestic.' This domineering spirit explains the words of an inspector of the department of Manche: 'It is not always the teachers who are wrong. Certain teachers, hurt in their pride, showed a resistance looked upon as misplaced, and a taste for absolute independence.'

"The mayors and the priests in particular made excessive demands upon the teacher who undertook the work of secretary to the mayor or verger to the church. Even if these functions augmented their meagre salaries, they had the drawback of making the teachers dependent, which was always a cause of discontent. There were always complaints from some mayor that his secretary was not punctual or hard-working. Priests were always requesting the presence of the verger during school hours. Sometimes it was to sweep the church, and again, to see to the vestments, etc. These vexations explain why certain teachers, in Aisne, for example, refused to accept these supplementary posts. Quarrels between the mayor and priest often complicated the situation, and Vauclin says that 'sometimes scenes took place before the whole school.' Regardless of how tactful he might be, the teacher had to take sides, with the result that one or the other of the antagonists became his enemy and set a part of the inhabitants against him!"[2] The habit of the clergy of regarding the teacher as a sort of general servant existed in parts of Germany, especially in Bavaria, up to the late Revolution.[3]

[1] See *L'Ecole et la Vie*, Sept. 30th, 1922, p. 15.
[2] See *L'Ecole et la Vie*, Sept. 30th, 1922, p. 16.
[3] See Part III, chap. IV (*a*), 3.

In our hasty review of the progress in education in the several countries under consideration, we are keeping foremost the questions: What is the degree of education among the masses? To what degree does independent opinion exist among the various classes? Who dictated the educational policy at any given time? Matthew Arnold's studies present interesting comparisons between France and Great Britain as they existed a decade before the founding of the Third Republic in France, and the great 1870 school law in England. A summary of these reports[1] will give the reader a distinct impression that Arnold regarded the Public Schools as the best in the world. He supports his opinion by quoting from M. de Talleyrand. With the exception of the English Public Schools, the advantage lies with France. In France public education "effaces between the middle and upper classes the sense of social alienation; it raises the middle without dragging down the upper; it gives to the boy of the middle classes the studies, the superior teaching, the proud sense of belonging to a great school, which the Eton and Harrow boy has with us; it tends to give to the middle classes precisely what they most want, and their want of which is the great gulf between them and the upper; it tends to give them personal dignity."[2] In the opinion of the writer, French secondary education renders just that same service to-day. The gap between the upper and middle classes is certainly less pronounced than is the division in England between the same groups. To that degree, at least, French education is more democratic.

Arnold's comparisons of Primary Schools are especially noteworthy. On reporting on a number of Industrial Schools, he concludes thus: "In nearly all the French primary schools, the reading and arithmetic are better than ours, the arithmetic in particular being much more intelligently taught by their masters, and much more intelligently apprehended by their children; the information about geography and history is decidedly inferior. I must notice, however, that in the schools of Nancy, and in the excellent Jewish schools in Paris, to which M. Albert Cohn, the president of the Jewish Beneficent Society, kindly conducted me, the boys answered my questions on geography, and, still more, on history, as well as the best instructed scholars whom I have ever found in an English school."[3]

After calling attention to certain types of poor children who were excluded from the public schools for a variety of reasons, he concludes the subject of school-attendance by stating: "Yet I could not discover that even in the great towns, where population is thickest, masses of poor children anywhere remained without instruction. There are cases of hardship, such as those I have mentioned, but I should mislead the English reader if I allowed him to think that I found in any French city educational destitution such as that of the 21,025 school-

[1] See Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, pp. 60-174; also, *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 77-84.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 75.

[3] Arnold, Matthew, *Popular Education in France*, p. 99.

less children of Glasgow, such as that of the 17,177 schoolless children of Manchester. I should mislead him if I let him think that I found in France, or that I believe to exist in France, a schoolless multitude like the 2,250,000 of England.'"[1]

From all the information at hand there seems no doubt that France was considerably in advance of England at that date (1859) in primary education. The vigorous activity of M. Guizot and his followers had borne fruit.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 101.

Chapter II

THE FRENCH SCHOOLS IN 1914

(*a*) Administration

The country whose school administration and organization we are now about to examine has a total area of 212,659 square miles, and a population of 39,402,739, including soldiers and sailors in service abroad, and the inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Of the total number given four per cent. are foreigners, whose number amounts to 1,500,000.

The impression seems everywhere current that the French educational system is a model of simplicity. In quite a superficial sense this is true. No doubt the idea arises because the system of educational administration is highly-centralized, as is everything else in France. The more time the investigator devotes to the study of French school-administration, the methods employed in teaching, and the ideals that dominate the various classes of schools, the more likely it is that he will wonder that anyone should ever have thought the system simple.

At the outset we will indicate some of the salient difficulties. We provide ourselves with the latest school-law pertaining to French education; it seems logical and clear. Immediately after, however, someone tells us that, at a certain date, a French Minister of Education issued a decree which influenced the application of certain parts of the law. Here, then, we are confronted with the first difficulty. We seek almost in vain for some Frenchman who can tell us what are the limits to the power of a French Minister of Education to issue these decrees, and we are surprised to learn that our French friend does not know, even though he may be an official in the educational system. Further inquiry will show us that there have been a great many decrees, averaging one for every two years during the last half-century. Some of these decrees are in reality nothing more than changes in the methods of administration, yet they have almost the effect of law. These decrees seem to reflect in a very large degree the political sentiment of the Government that happens to be in power at the time. The next difficulty is the evident conflict that exists among these various decrees. The whole problem is further-complicated by the fact that certain parts of the French school-law itself are not carried into uniform execution everywhere in France, to say nothing of the fact that some of the decrees remain wholly dead letters. The extent to which any of these laws, decrees, or *arrêtés*, are enforced is greatly modified by the proportion and influence of the upper social classes in any community, and more especially by the degree of bitterness with which the religious conflict is being carried on in the region in question.

Being forewarned as to the difficulties will perhaps prepare the reader to understand the educational scheme which we shall now attempt to unravel. The diagram which follows will be helpful in indicating in a general way the whole plan of educational administration.

PLAN OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

Authorities.	How Appointed.	Powers and Duties.
Central Authorities.		
Minister of Public Instruction	President[1]	
Advisory Council (52 members)	Chiefly elected	Advisory, administrative and judicial over entire educational system
Permanent Committee of the Council (15 members)	9 members appointed by President; 6 chosen by Minister	Frequent meetings. Deals with current affairs
General Inspectors	President	Superintendence of Secondary, Technical and Primary Schools
Director of Primary Education	Minister	Superintendence of Primary Schools
(5 Bureaux)	Minister	Personnel, discipline, programmes, supplies, examinations and construction, in Primary and Normal Schools; and scholarships
Local Authorities.		
Rectors (17), one for each Academy	Minister—with approval of President	General charge over entire educational system in Academy
Academy Inspectors (99) Generally one for each department	Minister	Chiefly confined to Primary Education
PrimaryInspectors (500) One for each *arrondissement*	Minister	Supervision of all the Primary Schools in particular *arrondissement*
Prefect	President — on advice of Minister of the Interior	Co-operation with Rector on appointment of teachers. Head of Departmental Council
Departmental Council (14 members)	Chiefly elected	Assist Prefect in supervision of PrimarySchools in department
Mayor of Commune	Civil Officer Communal Council	Responsible for enforcing compulsory attendance law. Head of Municipal School Commission
Municipal School Commission	Municipal Council	Enforcing and encouraging attendance

[1] The powers of a French President are not to be compared with those exercised by the President of the United States. In France the Presidential duties are all fixed by decree. In general, one may say that all his appointments are made upon the nomination of the ministers.

At the head of the system is the Minister of Public Instruction. He is assisted by the Advisory Council which is composed of five elected members of the Institute, nine high officials appointed by decree, eighteen University professors, ten masters from Secondary Schools, six masters from Elementary Schools, all of whom are elected, and four from Independent Schools, appointed by the Government. This Council advises on curricula, examinations, and books. It delivers final judgment on appeals and confirms the judgment of University and Academy Councils and Councils of primary instruction. It meets twice a year. A permanent committee of fifteen members deals with current affairs.

In addition to this, the Minister is provided with fourteen general inspectors who are occupied with the superintendence of Secondary Schools in France. For the Primary Schools there is a director of primary education. His office is not considered political, and, as a rule, he remains in power even when the Government changes. He is under the orders of the Minister. He, in turn, is aided in the execution of his work by five bureaux dealing respectively with: (1) the personnel; (2) discipline, programmes and examinations; (3) construction of schools and school supplies; (4) teaching force in the local Primary Schools; (5) finances and scholarships.

France is divided into eighteen Academies.[1] Each of these has a University. A rector appointed by the Minister, and acting as his representative, presides over the Academy, and at the same time performs the usual functions of a University president. The diagram below will indicate the scheme of administration for an Academy.

The rector has general charge over all forms of instruction, but he is subject to decided limitations in certain particulars. The first officer under the rector is the Academy inspector[2] appointed by the Minister for each department. This inspector is responsible to separate Authorities. As regards the Normal Schools he is responsible to the rector, whereas his supervision over the Primary Schools is under the control of the Prefect. Under the Academy inspector, there is usually the primary inspector for each *arrondissement*. Of these there are about five hundred. It is so arranged that each one has about one-hundred-and-fifty schools under his supervision. The primary inspector is appointed by the Minister.

At this point it will be necessary to explain the position of the Prefect in the scheme. Here we come against the real bureaucracy in the French government. The Prefect is the officer who really holds the government in his hands.[3] He is appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Minister of the Interior. The time during which he holds office is usually not long, but while in power he does indeed rule. Theoretically the Prefect appoints the

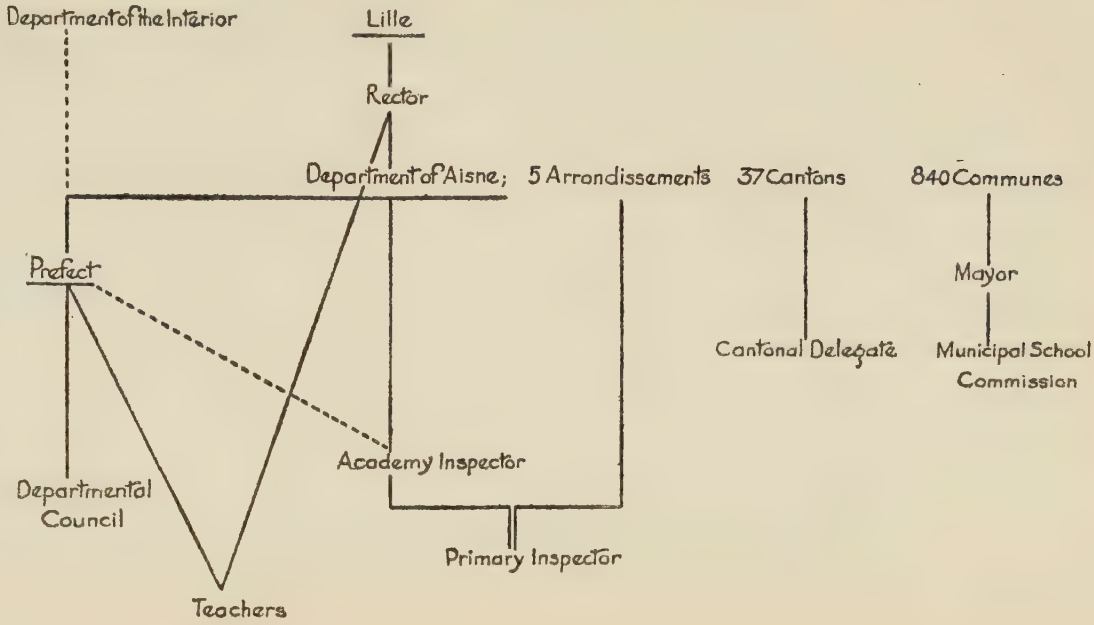
[1] This includes Alger in Algérie.

[2] As a rule there is an inspector of this type for each department. In Paris there are eight, and in Lille there are two.

[3] It is true that each *commune* has a municipal council, but it can do very little without the consent of the central administration.

Diagram of the School System of the Academy of Lille, Department of Aisne.

Lille is composed of five Departments: Aisne, Ardennes, Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Somme.



teachers on the recommendation of the inspector of the Academy; in reality however, his power is far greater than this. One may say that it is really the Prefect who controls the appointment. The inspector of the Academy is dominated in his recommendation by the Prefect. Failure to agree between these two officials may carry the case to the Minister of Instruction; even in that case, we are told, the Prefect is most likely to have the disputed question decided in his favour.

The local Senators and Deputies exercise a certain influence in the appointment of teachers, also in their removal.[1] French school-teachers are very sensitive as to public opinion. The details of some of these difficulties we shall learn later.[2]

It must be understood that as far as school-matters are concerned, a department is a division of an Academy. The Prefect as head of the department is assisted in his supervision of primary education by a Departmental Council, composed of fourteen regular members. This Council is made up of four councillors, elected by their colleagues of the General Council, the *directeur* and *directrice* of the Normal Training Schools, two primary inspectors appointed by the Minister of Education, two primary men-teachers, and two primary women-teachers elected by the teachers of the department. Should matters arise touching Private Schools, two representatives—one lay and one clerical—are elected by their colleagues to deal with the question at issue. All these members are elected for three years; they receive no salary, but are allowed travelling expenses.

(*b*) Organization

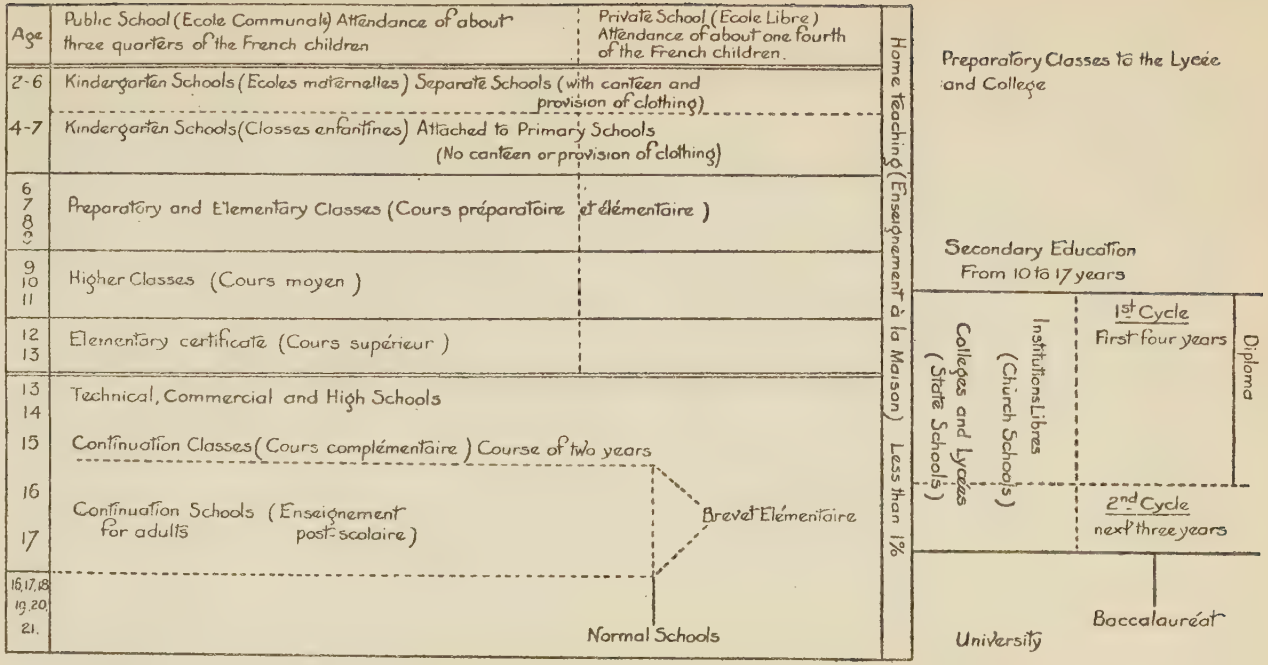
1. *Optional Routes*

When a French child has reached the age of six attendance at a school becomes obligatory. The parents have four options from which a choice must be made: Firstly, the child may be sent to the *école communale*, which corresponds to the American public school. The majority of the French children go to such a school, but the proportion is far less than is the case in the united States. The common schools in France are still far from enjoying the prestige which attaches to the schools of all the people in the States. Secondly, the child may be sent to *l'école libre*, or the Private School. From the accompanying diagram it will be seen that about one-fourth of all the children attend Private Schools. Thirdly, nearly all Lycées and Colleges have Infant Schools, Preparatory and Elementary Departments attached to them. Some parents give themselves the luxury of sending their children to

[1] Syndicalism is becoming a growing power. The unity among the teachers themselves is making it more difficult to remove one of their number.

[2] The Government is not strong enough to allow any great degree of freedom in local administration as understood in Great Britain or the United States. The danger that revolutionary plots will get under way and threaten the stability of the Republic is still great, although the writer realizes that such an observation is denied by nearly all Frenchmen. That seems, however, not to affect the truth of the statement.

Diagram of School Organization


Age
Public School (Ecole Communale) Attendance of about three quarters of the French children
Private School (Ecole Libre) Attendance of about one fourth of the French children.
Home teaching (Enseignement à la Maison) Less than 1%
2-6
Kindergarten Schools (Ecoles maternelles) Separate Schools (with canteen and provision of clothing)
4-7
Kindergarten Schools (Classes enfantines) Attached to Primary Schools (No canteen or provision of clothing)
6 7 8 9
Preparatory and Elementary Classes (Cours préparatoire et élémentaire)
9 10 11
Higher Classes (Cours moyen)
12 13
Elementary certificate (Cours supérieur)
13 14
Technical, Commercial and High Schools
15
Continuation Classes (Cours complémentaire) Course of two years
16 17
Continuation Schools (Enseignement post-scolaire for adults)
Brevet Elémentaire
16,17,18 19,20 21.
Normal Schools
Preparatory Classes to the Lycée and College
Secondary Education From 10 to 17 years
Colleges and Lycées (State Schools)
Institutions Libres (Church Schools)
1st Cycle First four years
Diploma
2nd Cycle next three years
Baccalauréat
University

these at the beginning of their school-life. In this connection we may remark that many parents send their children to the public school from the ages of six to nine or ten years, and then transfer them to the Preparatory Department of the Lycée or College. Fourthly, our diagram shows provision for what is known as *enseignement à la maison*, instruction in the home. Very few are educated on this plan. Only the rich can afford it, though the cost is not nearly as much as the average American may imagine.

A woman-teacher, possessor of the *brevet élémentaire*, receives in a large number of cases, not more than 125 to 150 francs per month, besides her living-expenses. The financial burden of employing a teacher of this type could hardly be considered as an extraordinary outlay.

It may be said that less than one per cent. of the children are educated in the home. The law requires the child to pass a yearly examination to prove that it is making satisfactory progress. In practice the law is not executed.

2. *Primary Schools*

The first division is known as the *écoles maternelles*—Kindergarten Schools. These are found in all cities. They form separate schools and each has its own directress. They are co-educational institutions and receive children between the ages of two and six years. Working mothers use these establishments, while they help to provide the family-stores.

These schools have a canteen which gives free midday meals to all who wish, besides clothing and shoes. The effect is two-fold. Some families send their children quite regularly, in order to get the meal; on the other hand, some hesitate to send their children to an institution that appears to be a dispensary of public charity. This difficulty is overcome by the *classes enfantines*—infant classes—which are attached to many of the Primary Schools; these have no canteen and receive children between the ages of four and seven years.

We are now ready to begin the survey of the Primary School proper. The diagram shows that the preparatory and elementary class—*cours préparatoire et élémentaire*—extends to the age of nine years. During these years the child is given instruction in morals, civics, reading, arithmetic, writing, drawing, singing and a little history and geography.

On the completion of the elementary course, the child passes into the middle course—*cours moyen*—which extends to the age of eleven years. During these two years he pursues the same subjects as in the two preceding years, only in more advanced forms. Manual training, physical sciences, agriculture and horticulture are added. Then follows the *cours supérieur* which prepares for the written and oral examination, leading to the elementary certificate. Until recently the child might present itself for this examination at the age of eleven years. Now the twelfth year must be completed. Most children take advantage of the concession which the law allows. This means that, in theory, France has compulsory school attendance to the age of

thirteen years, but that in practice twelve years is the usual leaving-age.[1]

Next, the reader may wish to know what constitutes the difference between the curriculum of the *école laïque*—public school—and the *école privée*—private school. The curriculum of the latter is the same as that in the public schools except that nearly all of them give religious instruction. A certain number charge school-fees.[2]

3. *Continuation Schools and Advanced Primary Schools*

The foreigner experiences no end of difficulty in learning the names of the different types of schools and the conditions underlying their organization. One is confronted with a list of words that have wide possibilities as to meaning. When a Frenchman is asked to explain these terms, he begins by using another set of expressions that are equally confusing.

After the elementary certificate has been obtained the child may enter the *cours complémentaires* which, according to the law of October 10th, 1886, were classes of continuation instruction, annexed to Elementary Schools. Up to 1919, the course of study was of one year's duration. There was no compulsory programme; it was drawn up by the director and treated principally of revisions of and additions to the subjects taught in the *cours supérieurs* of the Elementary Schools, drawing if necessary upon the programmes of the Advanced Primary Schools, especially those of the first year.[3]

The courses of study are adapted to the local occupations of the region or village. The writer has visited schools that were given-over largely to instruction in agriculture, others to navigation, while still others partook of an industrial or commercial character. These courses will not be maintained for less than twelve pupils. The hours of study are the same as those of the regular school. In most instances, there is only one teacher for the whole course. In certain schools, however, as for example in Versailles, it is customary to have two teachers, one for the literary subjects, and the other for science. This seems to be a very satisfactory arrangement. In such districts, the *cours complémentaires* take the place so completely of an Advanced Primary School,[4] that a demand for the latter hardly arises. These courses prepare pupils for the examination leading to the *brevet élémentaire*. The age-requirement for this examination is fifteen years. The total enrolment in these courses is estimated at 56,000 pupils.

[1] For further information regarding the curriculum, teaching and inspection of these schools, see pp. 115-9

[2] "Recent statistics establish the fact that 33% of the pupils of both sexes secure the elementary certificate." M. Adrien Veber, Deputy, in his *Report on Public Instruction*—1918, p. 181.

[3] This course was changed in 1920. See p. 124.

[4] Paris has five schools for boys, and only two for girls. The provision is wholly inadequate. For illustration, each year there are over one thousand candidates who apply for admission to the girls' schools. Only two hundred are taken. The two schools enrol something more than one thousand girls.

The Advanced Primary School, *école primaire supérieure*, may be compared with the American High School. The course covers a period of from three to five years. The French pupil generally enters the *école primaire supérieure* at the age of thirteen, which is at least a year earlier than when the American child enters the High School. The French child must present the elementary certificate already mentioned, and pass a competitive examination besides.

This gives a selection of pupils, which is one reason for better work and a more serious attitude than is obtained in an American High School where the group is not selected. The first fact that impresses the visitor when entering an *école primaire supérieure*, is the realization that it is a place where serious and interesting work is in vogue. Attending this type of school because it is the fashion, and carries with it a certain prestige, is a notion that has not yet taken root here. The American High School children have a better time perhaps, but their work is certainly more slip-shod.

There are additional considerations that favour more effective work in the French school. The curriculum and class-work are planned with more exactness, and the teachers undergo a more specialized training for the subjects they are to teach than is the case in the American school.

The Advanced Primary School is not a part of the Elementary School, but an independent organization under its own director. It may, however, be attached to another institution. In 1920, 153 were attached to an Elementary School, nine to an advanced Technical School, fifty-five to a College and one to a Lycée. There were 255 wholly independent. The number of schools for boys and girls is in the ratio of three to two.

The curriculum[1] formerly included French, history, geography, mathematics, science, morals and civic instruction. In addition there are a great many specialized courses which fit the pupils for the occupations of the locality. Pupils are prepared for the *brevet élémentaire*, as in the case of the *cours complémentaires* described elsewhere.[2] The majority of the pupils seek a more advanced diploma, known as the *brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur*. It is usual to devote the first two years to general instruction. After that, the school is divided into sections. Their number and type of work vary according to the size of the school and the needs of the locality. In Paris, there is one section of third-year work that continues the general instruction of the first two years.

There is a Normal School section that prepares especially for the *brevet élémentaire*, and the competitive examination for entrance to a Normal School.[3] Then there are the commercial and industrial sections which lead to the *brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur*

[1] For the revision, see p. 125.

[2] See p. 124.

[3] The entrance-examination for the Normal School varies greatly. The standard required for women is much higher, owing to the fact that the candidates are so much more numerous.

already mentioned above. These cover the third and fourth years. Finally there is a section that leads to the *brevet supérieur*. This also comes in the third and fourth years.

The Advanced Primary School must be looked upon as largely a local enterprise. The initiative for the establishment comes from the community and not from the State. However, the State does pay the teaching-staff. The community furnishes the building, equipment and incidental expenses.

In 1920 there were 62,000 pupils in these schools.

4. *Technical and Commercial Schools*

In connection with certain comparisons made with England and Germany, we had occasion to note that France aims to secure industrial and commercial proficiency by the training of highly skilled experts and a certain number of foremen to direct her industries. For the rank and file of her workmen very little is done. The whole number of students following courses in technical education in both public and private schools is about 70,000, which is less than ten per cent. of the total number of adolescents under the age of eighteen employed in trade or commerce.[1]

5. *Courses for Young People and Adults (L'Enseignement post-scolaire)*

The situation of popular instruction (*l'Enseignement post-scolaire*) has been carefully summed up by M. Ducos[2] in *Le Manuel Général* for December 24, 1921. He says:

"Out of the two and one half millions, or thereabouts, of adolescents between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, only 250,000 attend any schools, advanced, primary, technical or secondary. Among the remaining 2,250,000 how many are there who, during those three years, really receive any continuation instruction? According to the statistics arrived at in December, 1920, the number was 55,998. At that date, 39,027 pupils attended public continuation classes, and 16,971 attended private ones. If it is held in mind that classes for adults, except those for the illiterate, exist only on paper, that organizations for the spread of popular knowledge are dead, that the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* in spite of the merit and devotion of its leaders and members, succeeds only in getting up a few fine lectures, and then only in the bigger towns, you will realize that among the 2,250,000 adolescents who are deprived of secondary instruction, there are only 56,000 pupils benefitting by a more serious development of the rudimentary education they receive between the ages of six and thirteen.

"Is it not a disgrace to know that the proposal laid down by M. Ferdinand Buisson in 1911, to add continuation instruction to elemen-

[1] For comparison with England, see p. 33. In 1919, new legislation was passed, see p. 123.

[2] The project by M. Ducos is discussed elsewhere, see p. 145

tary instruction has not even been reported on; that M. Viviani's project has not even been discussed; that the Senate has just rejected the project which had in view the prolongation of compulsory education to the age of fourteen; that in spite of the yearly warnings of the eminent inspector-general of continuation school activities, M. Maurice Roger; that, in spite of the Alarmist declarations of men such as M. Lavisse, whose well-known cry 'Continuation education is a question of salvation for France' must not be forgotten; in spite of the pressing claims of the working classes represented by such men as M. Jouhaux and M. Merrheim, and by an intelligent leader such as M. Schneider—in spite of all this, the French Parliament has up till now done absolutely nothing to develop general continuation education and thus crown the work done by the elementary schools?"

Popular instruction gets its main legislative sanction from a decree (*arrêté*) of 1882. It contemplated courses for three types of students: (1) courses for illiterates; (2) special or complementary courses for young people who desire to complete the instruction acquired at school; (3) lectures and conferences for the dissemination of general knowledge.

A decree of 1884 fixed the responsibility for organizing such courses upon the municipal council. The commune pays all expenses with the exception of a small fraction which the State may contribute toward the salary of the teachers. The duration of the course is fixed at five months with three one-and-half-hour periods per week.

In 1919-20 the numbers enrolled in these evening-classes were: boys and young men—303,446; girls and young women—172,393. The number who are reported as having attended with some degree of regularity was as follows: boys and young men—183,542; girls and young women—114,647.[1]

When one realizes that there are over two million between the ages of thirteen and sixteen who ought to be receiving some kind of continuation instruction, the above statistics only emphasize the real needs of French education. Further, primary inspectors and others in authority have assured the writer that the attendance-figures just cited give an impression that is more favourable than the situation really warrants.

"Among twenty pupils enrolled perhaps two or three will come," said a primary inspector in the presence of the writer and a director of a Normal School. The director added, "*L'enseignement post-scolaire* exists only on paper," and to this the inspector nodded assent.

The teacher receives almost no pay for this work. The State contributes a little. The *commune* and philanthropic societies add to this amount. One hears of instances where the sum-total for the five months' course amounts to the ridiculously small sum of three-hundred to five-hundred francs. In some cases there is no pay at all. There are, however, certain of the wealthier *communes* that pay a salary that is quite commensurate with the salary received for the regular day-instruction.

[1] See *Rapport sur les oeuvres complémentaires de l'école publique en* 1920-21.

6. *Normal Schools*

In a Normal School the American feels quite at home. Teachers and pupils have that genuine democratic spirit which strikes one very forcibly. Here are seen the deepest appreciation and the most real understanding of American ideals. The international point of view is quite in evidence. The men and women of this group do practical thinking in terms of the events that are happening in an actual world. This progressive attitude is a natural result of the organization of the school and of the class of people from which the pupils are drawn.

The French Normal School has a long and eventful history. Its discussion received due attention in the Convention of the Revolution. It enjoyed a checkered career until the days of Guizot who put systematic regulations into effect in 1832. *The Chart of Normal Schools*, as his work has been styled, bears testimony to the influence and permanence of his efforts.

The Normal School began a new life during the ministry of Jules Ferry (1879-1881). His work was ably supported by the present progressive member of the Chamber of Deputies—M. Buisson—who was then Director of Primary Education. Education—free, laic and compulsory—began in earnest in that period.

In general each department has two Normal Schools, one for young men, and the other for young women. Before the War, these furnished nearly two-thirds of all the teachers for the public schools. The Normal Schools are directly under the rector of the Academy, though most of the inspection is done by the Academy inspector of the department in which the school is located. The State pays all the expenses of the school, including the living-expenses of the pupils while at school. The course covers a period of three years.

In order to enter a Normal School the candidate must be between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, hold the *brevet élémentaire* and agree to continue in the public school service for ten years.

France has made another unique provision for the training of teachers who are to instruct in the Normal Schools. There are two such institutions, one at St. Cloud for men, and the other at Fontenay-aux-Roses for women.

7. *Secondary Schools*

The Lycée and College, as a power in the French State, have already been noted. It remains for us to relate these schools to our diagram,[1] in order to give the reader a more definite idea of their internal organization. This is of special importance for our thesis in view of the fact that the greater part of school reform agitation centres round secondary education.

In 1913 there were in existence 343 Secondary Institutions for boys, of which nearly one-third were Lycées and the remainder Colleges. Their enrolment for that date was 100,203. In 1919, the number was

[1] For further information concerning the curriculum and recent changes, see p. 147

351, and the enrolment was 95,734. Although the Colleges are twice as numerous, the sum total of their enrolment is only about one-half of that of the Lycées.

Since 1880, the State has provided secondary education for girls. At present there are 84 Lycées, of which seven are in Paris. There are 84 recognized Colleges. The total Lycée and College enrolment for 1919 was 45,168. Besides these, there were 54 State institutions giving what is called secondary courses. In 1919 these schools enrolled over 5,000 girls.

In addition to these State schools there exists quite a number of *institutions libres*—free schools. These are directed by the laity or by ecclesiastics. Speaking generally they follow much the same programme. It is very difficult to give statistical information, and one is warned, on all sides, that such information, were it given, would be quite unreliable. The battle between the free and the State schools is still going on. What each group says about the other would make interesting though not very pleasant reading.

The present curriculum has been in use since 1902. We submit the programme, as given by the official regulations. The regular College or Lycée course begins when the child is ten years of age. It covers a period of seven years which is divided into two cycles: the first of four and the second of three years. In the first cycle, boys can choose between two sections. In one they are taught (besides subjects common to both) Latin, as a compulsory subject, beginning in the first year of the course, i.e. in the sixth class, and Greek, as an optional subject, beginning in the third year, i.e. in the fourth class. In the other section, there is no Latin or Greek, but fuller teaching is devoted to French, science, drawing, etc. In both sections the curricula are so arranged that, after passing through the first cycle, a boy has acquired an intellectual training that can be made to suffice by itself and that forms a whole. At the end of this cycle, a diploma of lower-grade secondary study can be granted, in consideration of marks gained during the four-years' course, and after consulting the masters who have taught the classes. In the second cycle, boys can choose between four main sections: (a) Latin and Greek, (b) Latin and a fuller study of modern languages, (c) Latin and a more thorough study of sciences (sciences include mathematics), (d) modern languages and sciences, without Latin. Section (d) which will usually be taken by boys who have done no Latin in the first cycle, is also open to boys who give up Latin after completing their four-years' course. It is also decided that, subject to ministerial approval, Academic Councils can arrange, in a certain number of schools, a special two-years' science-course, adapted to the particular needs of each district, and to be taken after the first cycle, with recognition by a diploma granted upon examination. The *Baccalauréat,* or Bachelor's Degree, has now been given an identical title for all subjects (no longer being divided into *ès Lettres, ès Sciences, moderne*), and confers the same privileges on candidates of all sections. It is taken, as before, in two parts, separated by at least a year's interval: the first part being an examination in the

subjects of one of the four sections of the second cycle, and the second part being a test in philosophy or mathematics as the main subject, though either of these alternatives embraces, in part, the other, and physical and natural science besides. The time-table is arranged as follows:[1]

FIRST CYCLE

Division A

	Hours per week			
	Sixth Form	Fifth Form	Fourth Form	Third Form
French	3	3	3	3
Latin	7	7	6	6
Modern Languages	5	5	5	5
History and Geography	3	3	3	3
Arithmetic	2	2	–	–
Mathematics	–	–	2	3
Natural Science	1	1	1	–
Drawing	2	2	2	2
Moral Teaching	–	–	1	1
Greek (optional). Boys who take this are excused two hours' Modern Languages and one hour's Drawing	–	–	3	3
	23	23	23	23

Division B

	Hours per week			
	Sixth Form	Fifth Form	Fourth Form	Third Form
French	5	5	5	4
Writing	1	1	–	–
Modern Languages	5	5	5	5
History and Geography	3	3	3	3
Arithmetic	4	–	–	–
Mathematics & Geometrical Drawing	–	4	–	–
Mathematics, Book-keeping and Geometrical Drawing	–	–	5	5
Natural Science	2	2	–	1
Physics and Chemistry	–	–	2	2
Drawing	2	2	2	3
Law (public and civil)	–	–	–	1
Moral Teaching	–	–	1	1
	22	22	23	25

[1] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 87.

SECOND CYCLE

Second Form

	Hours per week			
	Section A Greek-Latin	Section B Latin-Modern Languages	Section C Latin-Sciences	Section D Sciences-Modern Languages
French	3	3	3	3
Latin	4	4	4	–
Greek	5	–	–	–
Modern History	2	2	2	2
Ancient History	2	2	–	–
Geography	1	1	1	1
Modern Languages	2	7	2	7
Mathematics	2	2	5	5
Physics and Chemistry	1	1	3	3
Practical Science Work	–	–	2	2
Drawing	2	2	4	4
Geology (12 one-hour lectures for all sections)	–	–	–	–
	24	24	26	27

First Form (Formerly Rhetoric)

	Section A Greek-Latin	Section B Latin-Modern Languages	Section C Latin-Sciences	Section D Sciences-Modern Languages
French	3	3	3	3
Latin	3	3	3	–
Extra Latin	2	2	–	–
Greek	5	–	–	–
Modern History	2	2	2	2
Ancient History	2	2	–	–
Geography	1	1	1	1
Modern Languages	2	7	2	7
Mathematics	1+2*	1+2*	5	5
Physics	1	1	–	–
Physics and Chemistry	–	–	3	3
Practical Science Work	–	–	2	2
Drawing	2*	2*	4	4
	22+4*	22+4*	25	27

* Optional.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND MATHEMATICAL FORMS

	Hours per week			
	Philosophy		Mathematics	
	Section A	Section B	Section C	Section D
Philosophy	8½	8½	3	3
Greek and Latin	4*	–	–	–
Latin	–	2*	–	–
Modern Languages	2*	3	2	3
History and Geography	3½	3½	3½	3½
Mathematics	2½	2½	8	8
Physics and Chemistry	3	3	5	5
Natural Sciences	2	2	2	2
Practical Science Work	–	–	2	2
Drawing	2*	2*	2+2*	2+2*
Hygiene (a course of 12 one-hour lectures)	–	–	–	–
	19½+8*	22½+4*	27½+2*	28½+2*

* Optional.

(*c*) SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

1. *What the Law requires*

The efficiency of a school-system is determined somewhat according to the attendance-records of the pupils. The two preceding divisions have given the reader a sketch of the manner in which the schools are administered and organized. It yet remains to be seen in what degree the whole system is put into execution. For this, we must know what the attendance-laws are and how stringently they are applied.

Carnot promulgated the decree of 22 Frimaire, in the year II, which established compulsory attendance, but it remained a dead letter. The Faloux law of 1850 did not mention it.

The legislation of 1881 abolished school-fees. The law of 1882 followed in logical procedure: first it established lay schools (*laïcité*) and then it laid down the principle of obligatory attendance between the ages of six and the end of the thirteenth year.

Fifteen days before the opening of the schools, the parents are to inform the mayor of the *commune* where they intend to send their children. This information is requested by means of a form which is sent to all families. When the child leaves a school the parents or guardians must give immediate notice to the mayor, at the same time indicating in what manner the child's education is to be continued. Parents are responsible for the absences of their children.

Children who are taught at home must, starting from the end of the second year of compulsory attendance, be examined annually in subjects taught to pupils of a corresponding age in the public school and in accordance with the forms and programmes set by the decree of January 18th, 1887.

In the case of children who attend schools, parents must inform the head-master or mistress of the cause of absence. Illness, death of a member of a family and exceptional cases are legitimate causes for staying away. The law provides for municipal school Commissions to supervise and encourage school-attendance. The members, who include the primary inspector and the delegate from the *commune*, are chosen by the Council. The mayor, or some one appointed by him, presides over the Commission. It has no control, however, over the school or the teachers, and is called upon only to pronounce certain sanctions. It begins by the application of graded measures of punishment: first, a warning is sent to the parent to appear before the Commission; if he refuses to appear, his name is posted up. Should this second measure also fail, it becomes the duty of the primary inspector to call the parents before the Departmental Council. The judge may then inflict a fine of from one to fifteen francs, or prison of from one to five days. The judge, however, is not bound by the complaint of the primary inspector and may absolve the accused altogether. Children may be excused from attendance by the school Commission for a period not exceeding a fortnight. The request for such absence must be addressed to the primary inspector.

School treasuries (*caisses d'école*) were instituted by the law of 1867, and made compulsory by the law of 1882, but without *sanctions*. They are meant to encourage and facilitate school-attendance by providing rewards for the assiduous and help for the indigent pupils. The law of 1882 anticipated grants for this, but, through lack of credit being voted, it came to nothing. The State merely gives subsidies. The sources of these treasuries, outside the subsidies, are voluntary subscriptions and communal or departmental grants. They are established at the demand of the Municipal Council which is under the control of the Prefect. The *percepteur* manages the funds. They cannot give aid to Private Schools, but help may be given to all children of school-age.

2. *The Results obtained*

The results[1] at first were very encouraging. The cases of non-attendance at the beginning of the school year 1882-1883 (October, November, December) were very few. It was believed that the new law would be enforced as were the others.

The main fault seems to lie in the composition of the school Commission. The members will not run the risk of displeasing their

[1] That the law has failed is shown by the following: "On the 1st of June, 1911, out of 5,502,520 children inscribed on the school lists, 1,252,776 were running the streets. (This was one-fifth of the scholastic population.) And I am obliged to admit that, during the war, the statistics were even higher. By the examination to which conscripts were submitted last year, it was shown that one-fifth could not read or write, and 22% were obliged to follow an elementary course to regain the rudimentary knowledge painfully acquired at school." (E. Glay, in *L'Ere Nouvelle*, May 28th, 1922).

electors. The landowners who employ children on their estates will not proceed against the parents. The primary inspector cannot watch over all the deliberations of the school Commissions of all the *communes* in his district. It is expected that the mayor will exercise the power vested in the school Commission and impose the *sanctions* of which we have already made mention. Mild as such punishments seem to be, the mayors of France fear to make use of the provisions of the law.[1]

In many important towns, in industrial centres particularly, where the working population is not fixed, the list prescribed by Article 8 of the law does not exist or it consists merely of the names of the pupils in public or private schools as given by the teachers. Those alone are under the law who conform to the law. The others have only to keep in the background or to declare that their children attend Secondary Schools, for the law authorizes no control outside the Primary Schools. The inefficiency of the law is everywhere evident.

3. *Causes of Absence*

What are the causes of these constant absences, the lateness in coming to school and the early leaving, all of which paralyse the efforts of teachers and prevent the intellectual growth of many children? Who is to be blamed?

The need of help on the land has become very acute especially during and since the War. In urban and rural districts especially, lack of labour and absence from school bear direct relation to each other.

On the hazy pretext of a shortage of agricultural labour many families in easy circumstances do not send their children to school until the middle of November and take them away before the end of June. And they withdraw them from school altogether well before the end of their twelfth year.

Some parents plead great poverty—lack of shoes, of decent clothes, nothing but dry bread to give them for lunch, etc. They let the

[1] The mayor of a city of 40,000 inhabitants informed the writer that nothing was done in his town to *enforce* school-attendance. He confessed that people would not support the application of the law. In another city of 35,000 inhabitants, in the South of France, the writer was particularly impressed by the circumspect attitude that the mayor assumed as soon as the question of school-attendance was proposed. It was quite evident that that was one subject he did not want to discuss; however, being confronted with direct questions, he stated that in his opinion school-attendance was fairly regular, but he added that the children of the Spanish inhabitants were a source of no little difficulty in this respect. The writer was much interested to learn that both these mayors were under the impression that the law required school-attendance only to the age of twelve years,—a view which was found to be quite general. The fact that the law permits the possibility of going up for the elementary certificate at twelve years of age has led people to feel that school-life ended at that age. Out of all the children who attend the public schools, it is estimated that 50% finally present themselves for this certificate, and out of that number 80% pass.

children run about the lanes or streets, or, for five or ten francs, hire them out to a farmer for a few months.

Other causes are indifference, lack of conscience and the opinion, still firmly held in many country-districts, that *for the cultivation of the ground instruction is not necessary.*

Again, the charms of the best season in the country, the attractive walks in the shaded lanes and by the banks of the river, with little companions who are " keeping the cows " appeal irresistibly to the little country-boys.[1]

Another cause of indifference toward the public schools must be attributed to the hostile attitude of many of the clergy. In the course of the writer's visits through the country, he was surprised at the number of times the teacher found it necessary to register complaints with the primary inspector as to the manner in which the local priest was interfering with the attendance and general welfare of the school. Sometimes, he was trying to undermine the school by exerting a subtle and malicious influence over the mayor, or he was arranging for special church-services at hours that would draw the children from school; or, again, he was instrumental in organizing local societies which offered clothing and food-supplies to certain families on the condition that they withdrew their children from the public school and sent them to the free school, i.e. church school, instead.[2]

[1] The writer had the pleasure of accompanying, for some weeks, a primary inspector on his round of visits to the schools in the country. As we went from school to school we often encountered children of from ten to twelve years of age herding the cattle along the highway. Again, we met others who found it more profitable to carry golf clubs on the links for Englishmen, who were enjoying the inviting spring-days on the French coast. This same fact was noted, in the French Parliament, by Senator Pinard, who said: " In spite of all the Senate does, you will accomplish nothing, for the improvement of school attendance, until you enable the father of the family to live without being obliged to send his children, from their seventh year, to look after the cows." (*Manuel Général,* December 24, 1921.)

[2] M. Yvon Delbos, in *L'Ere Nouvelle* for December 9th, 1921, calls attention to the large number of *Congréganistes* schools being opened each day without legal authority; also to the fact that there is being introduced into the army a spirit of political and religious passion. In the *Journal* of the same date, M. Héry, Senator for *Les Deux Sèvres,* is reported to have interpellated the Chamber regarding the status of the religious establishments which had been closed since the separation of Church and State, and which, since the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, were once more opening their doors in the guise of secularized schools. Further, he went on to say: " The Catholics are organizing veritable missions in France, whose efforts are directed against republican laws and against attendance at public schools. We have *laïcisation* laws; it is not sufficient to proclaim them in Parliament, they must be applied."

An editor of a Catholic paper told the writer that the Congreganists were getting back into the schools as teachers, though not in robes. In proof of this, he cited his own sister and other family-friends as examples. Further, he volunteered the information that, in times past, an *école laïque* had been known to remain in session all the year without a single pupil. Among his last remarks there was one of more than usual interest: " Don't forget," he said, " that the Catholics are masters in France."

France allows great liberty in certain directions. The not-infrequent attacks which the clergy make against the schools from the pulpit and in their press would not be tolerated in the United States. Public opinion would force them to give more proof for their statements, and failing in that, they would be requested, in no unmistakable terms, to do less talking.

Chapter III

MODIFICATIONS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

(*a*) As affected by Foreign Relations

When the mind begins to reflect on the mountain of hopes that rose above the horizon, during and immediately after the War, and then suddenly turns to the actualities of the hour, it is well-nigh impossible to resist resignation to despair. What eye-witness of those days will ever be able to forget the solemn promises that men made to each other and to themselves, that the sad and disheartening experiences of war should never again be allowed to put into jeopardy the material and spiritual treasures of a State, or the very existence of a nation itself?

There was to be a new and more-enduring unity within each nation and among nations. No class of society, no institution, either social or religious, was to escape transformation. The culture of the ages was to be placed on a sure and firm foundation. Even permanent peace was hovering plainly in sight and was soon to be welcomed to a final abode in the hearts of men.

Now, deep anxiety hangs over every moment. Each day's world-events seem to raise the question whether the victory, so gloriously won, really established the Peace of the World, or merely marked a truce, which may serve as a new alignment of the nations preparing for continued imperial conquests.

No doubt each nation has its own set of facts and related events that explains the failure to attain many of the ideals and readjustments that seem to be corollaries to the Great Victory. As for France, the one outstanding fact that will explain more than anything else the tardiness and even hesitancy in reform-legislation, is the question of the stability of the Peace. No class or group in France seems at all convinced that peace is permanent. There exists a deep-seated fear that, within a comparatively short term of years, perhaps, the War will have to be fought over again. Ask any Frenchman what are his ideas on the question of the stability of the present order, and you will at once be presented with a long list of arguments, establishing dozens of possibilities of renewed world-slaughter. It is only fair to say that many of his points are well-taken, and perhaps no fair-minded listener would dare challenge the general correctness of his misgivings.

The feeling of insecurity in France was greatly increased as it became more and more evident that the United States would not ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Certain reform-societies disbanded alto-

gether upon the realization of this new and unexpected fact. Others changed their reform-programme entirely. The people were seized with the feeling that France must secure safety on the outside before becoming engrossed too deeply in internal affairs. In the meantime, school-problems were left in abeyance.

America's action was sufficiently influential to have a marked effect on the organization and policies of the French Government. It was one of the chief factors in bringing to the front a group of statesmen who, even if judged generously, would have to be regarded as highly conservative. Many intellectuals look upon the attitude and acts of the present Government, especially with regard to social and educational matters, as plainly reactionary.

Now it is an open secret that America is no longer regarded in the favourable light that prevailed at the end of the War and during the days of the armistice. The prestige of "things American" is on the wane. The day is past when the Great President could solemnly tell his fellow-countrymen that "There is a spiritual leadership that we may assume." This "leadership" gave every promise of being genuinely effective in speeding many reforms that looked to American practices and institutions as models. The blessings would have been wholly mutual. Few Americans really know what the deeper values of French culture are. It is a case where we could have given much, but, in return, we might have received even more.

Few reforms can be carried by reason alone. Brains are too rare for that. The convincing quality of an argument lies in the advantage of being able to cite some country where the reform that is proposed is already in successful operation. It means everything if the nation cited as an example is held in high esteem. Now the War has left the foreign relations of all countries in a state of mutual distrust. France is no exception; her foreign relations are in no wise conducive to favourable action in the form of progressive social legislation. For the moment, those who advocate freeing the potentialities of all the people, are going to have reason to rejoice if the country does not witness a retreat from the route of democratic opportunity and enlightenment.

(*b*) In Administration and Organization

1. *No Radical Changes*

Perhaps it was not really to be expected that the countries that won the War would feel themselves under the necessity of making any decided innovations in their system of educational administration and organization. The fact that they were victorious seems to have been taken, in all the Allied Countries, as real evidence that what they had was good and merited continued confidence. Satisfaction with themselves was so great that it has resulted in a more intense nationalism which, in turn, threatens to express itself in school-legislation that will possitively show marked traces of the inception of retrograde movements; and France is no exception.

The effect of the War has not yet recorded any changes in the French system of education that are destined to have any far-reaching consequences. Momentous legislation has been proposed, and much of it is receiving serious discussion. Some of the projects are highly democratic and progressive, others are reactionary in the extreme. Four years after the armistice an independent observer finds difficulty in determining whether the reactions of the War and the Treaty of Versailles are leading France towards an era of progression or of complacency.

2. *Vocational Schools in Agriculture*

Instruction in agriculture was reorganized by the law of August 2nd, 1918. The system comprises various types. One type is limited to a course of two winters of three or four months each. The pupils must be at least fifteen years of age. Such courses may be attached to Higher Schools of Agriculture, Lycées, Colleges or Higher Primary Schools. Another type is known as Continuation Schools for Agriculture. Here pupils must be thirteen years of age. The course extends over four years of 150 hours per year. In 1920 there were 549 courses organized with an enrolment of 6,000 pupils.

Besides the above there are twenty schools of apprenticeship for agriculture and a limited number of farm-schools. In general these schools afford a course of two or three years in practical farming. Both sexes are admitted.

In 1920 Parliament gave further encouragement to agriculture and domestic science by authorizing new schools for instruction in these subjects. A two-year course may be added to the rural school-programme, the work to be taught by the regular teachers. The law is not fully applied. No new schools have been established but there has been a reorganization of the agricultural instruction in the rural schools. Only a small proportion of the teachers are capable of giving such instruction. For illustration, the primary inspector of Saint Malo reports three such schools in successful operation in his district. More are to be organized so soon as the teachers can qualify.

The teaching of agriculture in the Normal Schools has been reinforced for the purpose of meeting the new demands. A special diploma is to be given on passing an examination. Such teachers will be entitled to additional pay of 500 francs per annum. There is a committee of patronage that surveys the work, and gives encouragement in securing attendance, and in some cases raises additional funds for the purchase of equipment, and the salary of the teachers.

The Under Secretary of State for Agriculture has sent general instructions concerning the method and programmes of teaching to all the Departmental Commissions, whose duty it is to draw up the special programme benefitting the region. The general programme includes agriculture in all its forms, forestry, study of domestic animals, horticulture, rural economics and legislation, elementary

notions of physical, chemical and natural sciences, French, mathematics and agricultural book-keeping.

The general inspector of agriculture insists particularly on the fact that pupils must be attracted to the course from the beginning, by agricultural teaching of which they can see the utility. The parents must be convinced that what is taught to their children is essentially useful, and that better financial results will quickly follow the immediate application of the knowledge acquired in the school.

For the first year, the Departmental Commissions are asked to omit all that does not directly concern the region and to keep only to those matters which bear directly on the local conditions. Scientific explanations are to be given only when necessary, and in the form of digressions. The general inspector of agriculture admits that the Agricultural Continuation School thus planned is not ideal, but that as its success at any price is essential it must first look to immediate results and that later, when the rural inhabitants are convinced of its mission, it may follow a broader method.

The law of 1918 which we have already mentioned made little change in the Secondary and Higher Schools of Agriculture.

3. *Industrial and Commercial Instruction*

Technical, commercial and industrial instruction had been since 1880 under the Minister of Commerce. In 1920 it was transferred to the Under Secretary of State in the technical instruction division of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Formerly no small amount of energy was wasted in useless rivalry and in long-drawn-out misunderstandings over questions of precedence, right of control over buildings, equipment and appropriations. The change is certainly calculated to benefit the cause of vocational education. Further, it will have the wholesome effect of breaking the barrier between hand-work and head-work.

By what is known as the Astier Law of 1919 practical Schools of Commerce and Industry received a new charter. The added legislation owes its origin to two sources. Firstly, the rapid industrial progress of neighbouring rival States led to the conviction that France was falling behind in *per capita* production. This was accounted for in part by the fact that labour in those countries was more highly-skilled. Better commercial and industrial preparation seemed a logical necessity, as proved by both statistical and social studies. Secondly, the conditions of apprenticeship in France were regarded as onerous. The pay of labour in the trades had diminished. The machine enriched the employer, and it also benefitted the labourer who wished to escape the period of unpaid apprenticeship.

It was evident that the State was called upon to check this continued lowered efficiency. Finally, the War made it obvious that something must be done to prolong the instruction of the child beyond that received in the Primary School.

The law establishes the principle of compulsory attendance for boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years. The course is to

cover a minimum of four and a maximum of eight hours per week, or from one-hundred to over two-hundred hours per year. The instruction is to be given during the hours of the legal working-day.

There are certain obvious defects in the law. Firstly, it is applicable in the large commercial and industrial cities only. Secondly, the principle of compulsory attendance, as is usually the case with all such legislation in France, is not absolute. There are many ways by which the law can be easily circumvented. It contains a restriction which dispenses with the obligation of organizing the course during the legal working-day for all establishments in which the normal day of labour does not exceed eight hours. In brief, attendance will only be secured when the employer himself imposes it upon his apprentices. Usually he does not concern himself about their acts outside his establishment.

The law recognizes the right of the employer to organize such courses in his establishment, but the municipality assumes charge of them.

In each locality there may be created a local vocational Commission, composed of the mayor, certain representatives of the employers and employees. This Commission determines the courses and nominates the teachers; it also defrays the expenses.

For some years, in numerous localities vocational courses had been organized under the direction of philanthropic employers and societies for popular instruction.

The law has the approval of the commercial and industrial groups. It does mark the beginning of a tendency on the part of the administration and the interested groups to work collectively. It is at least the beginning of what is destined to be more elaborate and solidly-grounded.

4. *Advanced Continuation and Primary Schools*

The *cours complémentaire*,[1] a form of advanced primary instruction already described, underwent certain important changes by the decree of August 18th, 1920. The course now covers two years. The aim is to provide a means whereby a child may remain in the Elementary School and obtain a sort of abbreviated High School course. The curriculum is the same as that of the first two years of the Advanced Primary School (High School). The decree stresses again the importance of making the curriculum suit the occupations and industries of the region. It is an effort to make elementary education more practical—a necessity which the War brought home to the French.

The decree defines anew the aim of the Advanced Primary School.[2] " Its aim is the formation of men who, under the leadership of chiefs having received a university or other superior type of education, will constitute the framework of our great industrial and administrative

[1] See p. 107.
[2] See p. 107.

armies. The *cours complémentaire* forms highly instructive workers, but the advanced primary school tends to produce overseers, foremen and employees. When the *cours complémentaire* leads its pupils to the normal school, it may be said to have arrived at the limits of its province, whereas the advanced primary school may often without difficulty lead its pupils to a higher level. With few exceptions, the pupils of the *cours complémentaire* hardly ever remain beyond the age of fifteen or sixteen, whereas those of the advanced primary school often remain until the age of eighteen, and sometimes beyond it. The *cours complémentaire* offers but a minimum of advanced primary instruction, the advanced primary school develops the instruction to its utmost limits.''[1]

Earlier legislation had already provided that each Advanced Primary School should have a designing room, a library, a laboratory, a room for the collection of study-models and apparatus, and a gymnasium. The decree of August 18th, 1920, added a playground to this list.[2] The same decree anticipated an allowance for materials for instruction and a subsidy to purchase them. Further, it provided that auxiliary teachers may be appointed for teaching special subjects. In the same year a further order recommended the addition of vocational courses, such as agriculture. For the girls, domestic science was added.

The decree of August 18th, 1920, indicated the general lines on which the weekly programme is to be based.

	For each year.
Morals, Civics, Commercial Law, Political Economy	1 hour per week.
French	4 hours ,, ,,
History and Geography	2 ,, ,, ,,
Modern Languages	4 ,, ,, ,,
Mathematics	3 ,, ,, ,,
Physics, Chemistry, Natural Sciences, Hygiene	3 ,, ,, ,,
Design	3 ,, ,, ,,
Singing	2 ,, ,, ,,
Physical Exercises	2 ,, ,, ,,
Practical Work (for boys)	4 ,, ,, ,,
Practical Work (for girls)	6 ,, ,, ,,

In the first year, one hour a week is to be given to writing and three hours for stenography and typewriting. Enrolment in these subjects is voluntary. For the girls there is offered one hour in domestic science each week during the second and third years. The schedule for each pupil covers twenty-eight to thirty-three hours per week.

The most important part of the whole reform was the abolition of the concentric method of teaching which obliged the teacher to repeat

[1] From *Le Journal Officiel*, October 31st, 1920, p. 17,064.

[2] The special interest of this provision is that it shows the spirit of all the recent efforts in education, not only in France, but in all the countries as well. The world feels the necessity of more time for play.

his courses in the same way each time.[1] He is encouraged now to use progressive methods that will allow a continued expansion and deepening of the subject-matter.[2]

The statistics that follow indicate the standard of education that is attained by the students of this type of school. In 1920 the number of pupils who left the school was 23,500.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Brevet d'enseignement primaire supérieur	3,828	3,721	7,549
Brevet élémentaire	2,316	3,784	7,200
Admission to a Normal School	889	1,152	2,041
Brevet supérieur	106	729	835

Considering the whole school-population of France these numbers are very small.[3] There is one consolation that counterbalances in a measure any unfavourable comparison with other countries. A French pupil who holds any of the above diplomas has acquired both definite knowledge and the capacity to work. As much cannot be said for pupils in some other countries.

5. *Normal Schools*

Some important changes have been made in the organization and curriculum of the Normal Schools.[4] Reference has already been made to the *brevet élémentaire* which is required for admission. In fact, the examination for Normal School entrance, and the examination for the *brevet élémentaire* are often identical. In case there are more candidates who already have the *brevet élémentaire* than there are vacancies in the Normal School, the examination is purely competitive. That is likely to be the case in the Normal School examination for women. In some parts of France, especially in Paris, a large number of candidates for Normal School admission not only have the *brevet élémentaire* but also the *brevet supérieur*.[5]

[1] This killed the interest for the teacher, and for a pupil who had previously failed in the course the repetition had a deadening effect on his interest and attention.

[2] This change may mean even more than the French themselves realize. We may be warranted in saying that it is in a degree an unconscious adaptation on their part to the new spirit in education. Schools everywhere are getting away from the mere giving of knowledge. The school is becoming a place in which to live quite as much as to learn. Set standards and outside aims are losing their force. Education is becoming its own end. This recent change is a step in that direction, though there seems no evidence that those who framed the provision or that those who teach have any clear realization of the significance that the new procedure bears. Even great men seem to take new directions out of the current of their time, and hardly know the reason why. Adaptations in educational methods and ideals serve to illustrate the parallelism that is going on in nearly all modern States.

[3] We are not forgetting that there are other forms of advanced elementary education. However, when all the types are considered, the sum-total of the pupils who complete definite courses is small as compared with similar figures in Germany and the United States.

[4] For previous discussion, see p. 108.

[5] For reference to this point, see pp. 108-9.

Since the War it has been difficult to fill the vacancies in the Normal Schools for men. It is admitted that it has been found necessary to lower the pre-War standard for the *brevet élémentaire* in order to fill these vacancies. It is just this situation that has led to an important change which we now note.

A decree of 1920 anticipated entrance into a Normal School by creating normal sections in the *cours complémentaire* and in the Advanced Primary Schools (*écoles primaires supérieures*).[1] In the same year a credit of 500,000 francs was added to the Budget in order to establish scholarships for these preparatory Normal School sections. These scholarships are awarded by competitive examination, and payments may begin at the end of the legal compulsory school-age.

For entrance into the Normal School proper the candidate must not be less than fifteen, nor more than nineteen years old. The course covers a period of three years, and is completed by passing an examination that grants the *brevet supérieur*. The law of 1919 prescribes that no one may be appointed definitely to a teaching-post without having obtained this certificate, and without having spent at least one year in a Normal School.[2]

In 1920 a revision in the curriculum was made. Formerly, the first two years were spent on virtually the same work that was being done in the fourth and fifth years of the Advanced Primary Schools. It was an effort towards the acquisition of facts rather than towards the cultivation of independent power. This left the third year only for preparation for teaching. The concentric method already-mentioned has been abolished. The work is given a vocational character from the very beginning. The decree prescribed anew the subjects to be pursued, besides appending a complete syllabus of what should be taught in each of the branches cited below.

1. General morals and vocational ethics.
2. Elements of psychology and sociology applied to education.
3. Pedagogy.
4. French language and literature.
5. One foreign language.
6. History.
7. Geography.
8. Arithmetic and algebra.
9. Geometry.
10. Land-surveying and levelling (for pupil-teachers).

[1] See pp. 108-9.

[2] This regulation will begin to operate in October, 1923. It will be some years before this standard can be actually attained. In the meantime, supply-teachers will be appointed by the inspectors of the Academy to the rank of *stagiaires*. This requires a *brevet élémentaire* only. Permanent appointments are made by the Prefect.

11. Physical and natural sciences with their principal applications, domestic economy, hygiene, and (for women pupil-teachers) puriculture.
12. Agriculture (for men pupils horticulture).
13. Drawing.
14. Music and singing.
15. Gymnastics.
16. Handicraft.

The reader will be interested to note that sociology appears on the programme of a French Normal School for the first time. It is taught in connection with pedagogy, psychology and philosophy. The programme for these subjects is as follows:—

1st year—	Pedagogy	one hour per week.
	Psychology	,, ,, ,, ,,
2nd year—	Sociology	,, ,, ,, ,,
	Practical Pedagogy	,, ,, ,, ,,
3rd year—	Pedagogy with applications	,, ,, ,, ,,
	Philosophy	,, ,, ,, ,,

This must be looked upon as a real step toward the practical. We may expect that questions dealing with labour, property, exchange, the family, the nation and the State will be discussed from the point of view that arises out of the every-day world, rather than from a concentrated philosophical speculation which has hitherto been too much in evidence in the French attitude toward these subjects.[1] In fact, here we have one of the reasons that indicates a certain superiority of the French primary system over the secondary and higher systems of education. The two latter are bound by traditions that make needed adaptations well-nigh impossible. It is to the primary system of education that the French must look for the elements that can be developed into a wider and more profound democracy. Their programmes are based upon life. They admit revision and change. The Frenchman himself has not yet learned to appreciate truly his own Primary Schools. He receives with something of a shock the news that the future greatness of France lies much more in the philosophy and spirit with which these institutions are founded than on the traditions and ideals that prevail in the Secondary and Higher Institutions.

[1] A further point of view that is not without interest is the indication that sociology will make its way in the Normal and Elementary Schools first. In time this may force the French Universities to give sociology a more important position. In the United States, sociology was first studied in the Universities. It was developed on a large scale. It then passed to the Normal Schools, High Schools, and finally into the Elementary Schools.

(*c*) The Curricucum

1. *Physical Education*

"What are the most important recent changes in your curriculum?" This question the writer has proposed many times during a period of four years to primary inspectors, directors of Normal Schools and teachers. "A renewed and deeper interest in physical education," is the usual reply, which is then followed by a long and detailed explanation of the ravages on the physical strength of the nation, falling birth-rate, depopulation, social diseases, and finally a confession that French education has, for too long a time, neglected the development of a sound body. On several occasions the one questioned has added that the splendid physique of the American soldiers surprised the French. They believed that it was due in part to the athletics and games which are so much encouraged in American education. They were resolved to profit by that example. The pre-War curriculum did provide for physical education for two hours per week, but the provision was carried out very indifferently. The effect of the War has been to secure a serious, and in most cases, a spirited practice in physical exercises and games. Unfortunately, French schools have very little playground, hence, in spite of the best efforts of directors and teachers, it is sometimes well-nigh impossible to carry out a programme of exercises and sports that will assure both profit and pleasure.

On visiting the Elementary Schools one is impressed by the great interest and enthusiasm that is manifested in the classes in physical education. The movement for more and better physical training has extended itself to many organizations outside the school-room. All over France, Sunday afternoons and holidays are devoted, in no small degree, to sports of various kinds. The municipal councils of certain cities have shown their approval by making small appropriations for preparing parks and special playgrounds, and the mayors have manifested their interest by speaking at the inauguration of these new exercises. There seems to be nothing about which France is more convinced than the real need of encouraging physical training. It is one of the few educational questions on which there is unanimity of opinion.

On March 3rd, 1922, a decree was issued which created a department of physical education and sports in the Ministry of Public Instruction. The new bureau is entrusted with the drawing up and application of programmes of physical training. It is assigned the task of organizing a corps of teachers and drill-masters, and it is also expected to devise rules and regulations for sports in all public scholastic institutions.

In 1921, military training was added to the curriculum. At first it was made obligatory. It has since been made voluntary, but the pressure put upon the student to enrol amounts almost to compulsion. For illustration, in the Normal School at Auteuil, all pupils in the first two years are enrolled. Nine members of the third-year class have resisted the pressure to enrol.

The change has modified the former schedule of athletics. Formerly, four hours, two of them voluntary, were devoted each week to physical exercises. The new law established a four-hour requirement.[1] Two hours are given to physical education as before. One hour is given to theoretical military training, and the fourth hour to practical military training, i.e., marches and exercises in the use of the machine-gun, etc. This innovation has given rise to protest against what is called " military preparation in the Normal Schools."[2] It is objected that physical training and the teaching of history are both being subordinated to military interests rather than being devoted to instructing teachers how to deal with youth. It is shown, further, that in some cases the dignity and tone of the Normal Schools are being lowered by the use of language introduced by the military men who sometimes seem to forget that they are in the school-room instead of in the barracks.

Objections[3] of the same nature are put forward by M. Louis Anteriou, member of Parliament. He expressed the fear that the military spirit may gain ascendancy in the Normal Schools. Discipline has come under the military to a certain extent. There exists a number of colonel-inspectors who are supposed to report on all anti-militarist propoganda.

The writer has taken up the question of this new regulation for military training with certain of the Normal School directors and primary inspectors. His distinct impression was that the subject is embarrassing, and one they would prefer not to discuss. They try to make apologies for the regulation. They realize quite well that the effect of the new order will be to strengthen the impression in foreign countries that France is becoming militaristic. Further, the writer is given to understand that the majority of Normal School directors are far from convinced of the necessity for the innovation, and the hope is sincerely expressed that ere long the entire programme may be rescinded.

2. *Moral and Civic Instruction*

In the preceding section, we found that a consistent development of physical education would naturally lead to wider and deeper moral conceptions and practices. It is easily understood that the same set of circumstances which forced the French to revise and add to their programme of physical education also led to a revival of moral and civic effort.

The testimony in France, as in other countries, points unanimously to the fact that the War left the moral and civic standards of large masses of the population in a greatly-shattered state. In some respects

[1] At Auteuil twenty-two out of a total enrolment of 130 students volunteer an additional two hours for outside sports. The final effect of the added military hours seems to be a discouragement of voluntary physical exercises.

[2] See article by E. Glay in *L'Ere Nouvelle,* May 16th, 1922.

[3] See *L'Ere Nouvelle,* June 26th, 1922.

this war-effect was more marked in France than elsewhere because so much of her territory was invaded. Homes were entirely broken up, and the members of the family were subjected to exceptional temptations. As everyone knows the proportion of men lost was higher here than elsewhere. This gave a correspondingly larger percentage of abandoned children.

During the last four years one has heard much and read even more about the three enemies of France: alcoholism, syphilis and tuberculosis. Staggering statistics are not wanting.[1] Furthermore, the complaint is made on all sides that the people seem so inert, indifferent and irresponsible. It would be easy to exaggerate but, broadly-speaking, these charges are well-founded. That an exceptional increase in moral lapses and a growing indifference toward civic integrity should bring into existence a campaign for moral betterment is easily comprehended. That the school should be selected as an important agency in this fight against national perils is most natural. There is unanimity of agreement on that point. The disagreement arises when we try to plan the school programme of to-morrow. Let us try to state the more important prevailing views.

First, we turn to the partisans of the *école libre* (Church School). They furnish us with long columns in the religious press, showing the perilous state of public and private morals. The decline of virtue provides the subject for large volumes.[2] According to them, what is the cause of and what is the remedy for this decline? In answer, we submit extracts from the Church writers: "The neutrality of the lay school (*école laïque*) takes away the basis of a moral education."[3] The suppression of God in the schools "has swelled the number of young malefactors to such an extent that the statement may be made, and supported by statistics in hand, that to open a public school will call for the building of a prison at its side."[4] Then follows a long column of figures pretending to prove that a connection exists between the growth of public schools and crime. "That one should not be astonished at the bankruptcy of the public school: ! ! This atheistical institution carries in itself the germ of the evil doer. It is not with Christ, it works against Him, against all society and against the child."[5] "The morals taught in the public schools are based on vague and abstract principles, void of all ideal notions and conception of divinity. Only the *Free Christian School* (*école libre chrétienne*) is able to rear children toward that which is most high

[1] See *Sa Majesté l'Alcool,* by Jean Finot, Librairie Plon, Paris. Also the numerous articles prepared by Dr. Jean Méteil, Secretary of *La Ligue Nationale contre l'Alcoolisme. La Ligue Française d'Education Morale* supplies important statistics and literature on the subject; it also suggests means of making an effective campaign for moral and social betterment.

[2] See *L'indiscipline des Moeurs,* by Paul Bureau, Professor at La Faculté Libre de Droit de Paris, Blond et Gay, 1921, Paris.

[3] *L'Echo des Pyrénées,* October 21st, 1920.

[4] *Ibid,* November 11th, 1920.

[5] *Ibid.*

and noble. The half-hour of catechism each day is worth more than all the classes of science put together."[1]

This is a part of the Church campaign that is emptying some of the public schools and leading to the suppression of teaching-posts. It is by this method that the Church expects to rebuild moral and civic education in France. "The exact observance of moral discipline is only possible in a society that is under the beneficent influence of a strong religious education."[2]

A revival of what promises to be a long-drawn-out campaign between the Church and public schools is one of the legacies which the War bequeathed to France. The Catholic Church is trying to make big capital out of a lowered state of morals. It is really astonishing to see how successful it has been, up to the present, in making a considerable part of the French nation believe that the public schools are the cause of all these disorders instead of the War itself.[3]

The re-opening of a large number of free schools (Church Schools) is one of the changes in French education since the War. The hold they have is based primarily on what these schools are supposed to do for morals and refinement.

Next let us turn to the partisans of the public school. The views of the late Professor Durkheim may be cited as quite typical. Attention is called to the well-recognized fact that all the world admired the incontestable bravery and heroism of the French troops; all the nations rendered homage to a people who could bear the frightful calamities of war with such calm endurance. "What does this mean if not that our educational methods have produced the best effect that could be expected of them; that our public school has made men of the children confided to it? The public school has naturally had the largest share in this result, since its pupils represent the majority of the school population. We can, therefore, with perfect certainty conclude that it has performed its task well. In no case would there be a question of renouncing the principles on which its teaching rests; the war has proved their worth. This is a fact beyond all dispute, and one which should put a stop to certain controversies. . . . . If France, which on the very eve of the war was dragging out a colourless and chaotic public life, has demonstrated this heroism that the world so admires, it is evidently because she possessed certain unsuspected moral forces which slumbered for want of a definite object to which to devote themselves. The moment the country was in danger, all individuals found themselves united in one common aim. Instead of clashing and mutually paralysing one another, they became united, and by the unity of their action they accomplished great things. The miraculous renaissance of which people have talked is reduced to a very simple psychological phenomenon, which is nevertheless most creditable and full of promise, for it bears witness to our

[1] *Ibid,* November 25th, 1920.

[2] Bureau, Paul, *L'Indiscipline des Moeurs,* p. 598.

[3] For detailed evidence the reader is referred to current issues of *La Croix,* Paris.

vitality and shows what we can do when we see clearly what we must do."[1]

Such an opinion is further-supported by Professor Bouglé in an article on *Religion, Morals and Sociology.*[2] He calls attention to the campaign that was made against the *école laïque,* i.e. the charges of dissoluteness in morals, relaxation in discipline, increased alcoholism, criminality and decadence of the race. All these manifestations were directly traceable to the *école sans Dieu.* "The war is a thing of the past. And, at first, it seemed as if it had given the death-blow to that ancient quarrel. The great 'degenerate,' France, pitied and vilified as a victim of republican experiments, had not behaved so very badly under fire. And the pupils of her public schools, who formed the great majority of her combatants, and whose masters gloried in setting the example after giving the precept, had shown up very well on the battle-fields of Marne and Verdun. There was nothing to do but to bow low and salute, confessing that the evil had, at least, been exaggerated and 'Maître Aliboron' calumniated. Such amendments were among the noblest gains of 'L'Union Sacrée.'"[3]

Having characterized the discussion outside the school-room, we shall now invite the reader into the class-room. What is really taught there? A number of classes must be visited before a fair opinion can be formulated. Let us begin with one in which the more usual method is represented. The lesson may be on any one of the subjects: father, mother, duties of elder sister, of younger brother. The teacher develops the subject according to a well-defined outline. The children are encouraged to take part in the discussion. Their opinions are respected by both teachers and class-mates. It is apparent, however, that the teacher is directing the conclusions, and the children are taught to accept and believe. In the opinion of the writer, no one could take the least objection to any of the conclusions that are reached. An ideal family-relationship is always held up to the children. The pedagogical method, alone, some might question. The teaching rests on authority, as is the case in the Church Schools.

We now go into another class, in which the subject may happen to be any one of the following: property, truth, or gambling and the like. The discussion among the teacher and pupils is quite animated and numerous points are brought out and developed. However, once more, the visitor will note that the teacher takes for granted that private property is a just and permanent order of society, that truth must always be told and that gambling is an evil. The writer is not objecting to any of these conclusions. The criticism he would offer is on the taking for granted of the major proposition on which the whole class-discussion rests. The same observation also applies to much of the teaching in the Lycées. For a definite illustration of our contention the reader is referred to *La Vie Civique,* a text-book by M.

[1] Durkheim, Emile, *French Educational Ideals of To-day,* pp. 188-9, by Buisson and Farrington.

[2] See *La Grande Revue,* April, 1921.

[3] See *La Grande Revue,* April, 1921, p. 193-4.

Belot, inspecteur-primaire de la Seine. This book is written analytically and contains a vast store of information that should be at the command of all citizens. Two French children—François and Françoise—are made to carry on a dialogue on the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, the virtues of the Third Republic,[1] and the responsibilities of citizens, in terms and phrases that are quite unnatural to any real child or adolescent.

What has happened is this: religion has been taken out of the schools and the State has been substituted in its place, but the pedagogical method has remained the same.

Now it is quite the custom among foreigners to decry the type of moral teaching which obtains in French schools. We often hear that it is formal, uninteresting and superficial. The writer accepts the first charge, but rejects the other two. All French teaching, especially in Secondary Schools, is inclined to be formal. Any class-work which follows a closely mapped-out syllabus is likely to be so. This trait is further-accentuated in that nearly every French class is attempting to prepare certain of its pupils for some kind of *Concours*.

However, the charge of formality in moral and civic teaching is less applicable there than to almost any other subject. Moral instruction is certainly less formal and far more interesting than the lessons on religion, which it replaced. The teachers and pupils do talk about topics of every-day life and the latter are never wholly without any understanding of what it is all about. Of course we see methods which we think would be an improvement, but even so there is reason to believe that the French system of education, instead of being at a discount on this point, is probably leading the nations in this particular form of evolution. Now that sociology has been introduced into all the Normal Schools, we may expect the authoritative method, which has too-largely prevailed up to the present, to fall into the background, and allow the compelling causes for moral and civic action to arise out of the life-experience of the child.

Progress in this very direction is already in action. A method worthy of special mention is that entitled *Moral and Civic Education by Artistic and Literary Suggestion*.[2] We quote from the preface: "It is useless to teach morality to the child: he knows it already. It is useless to teach him that he should speak the truth, that he should obey. . . that he should love his parents, he knows this but that

[1] The visitor will be impressed by the number of times the children are asked to give dates connected with the revolution or the establishment of the Third Republic. It is quite evident that French schools are spending a great deal of time on these topics. An American notes this contrast because, in his country, the Republic is taken for granted by everybody. The question of its continued existence is not up for discussion. Hence it would not be possible to get up any extensive enthusiasm in the school-classes on the subject. The same may be said for the schools in Great Britain. The form of government seems to be so thoroughly established there that it has not occurred to the teachers or to those who make the programmes that any special attention need be given to the support of her particular form of government.

[2] See *L'Education Morale et Civique par la Suggestion artitistique et littéraire*, by Miraton et Farges, Librairie Delalain, Paris.

does not always prevent him from doing wrong; he knows this . . . and yet, at school, it is too often considered a duty to instruct him in it. It is not the fault of official instructions, those connected with the teaching of morality at primary schools are as precise as they are judicious. ' Moral education does not aim at making the child know right but at making it wish to do right.' The book indicates a method to reach the deepest recesses of the soul. Too often the lesson on morality is explained as if it were an arithmetical problem; correct notions are given to the child and he is made to learn the driest summaries, with the general result that the lesson on morality is the most boring of all. Now no lesson on morality is efficacious unless the truths grasped by the intelligence are first accepted by the heart. The popular saying ' He has no heart ' illustrates very truly the notion that one's moral life depends on the quality and degree of one's sensibility. All those sentiments which will strengthen the child's will in his fight against passions and vices must be quickened. To accomplish this, an appeal to reason is illusory: first, the heart must be touched. A good teacher knows this: but he complains of the lack of means at his disposal. It is this need we have tried to supply. Our aim has been to place the child in an atmosphere of moral beauty, by making use of the suggestive strength found in all imagery, whether represented by the painter's brush or the poet's pen. In the present work we have collected such works of art as are most accessible to the mind of a child. At the beginning of each lesson we have placed a photographic reproduction of a fine picture, which, if the child is taught to observe correctly, will cause an emotion conducive to the awakening of moral sentiment. The text on the opposite page will strengthen the sentiment which the picture has engendered. As often as possible the lesson will conclude with an appropriate song: one calculated to animate all the children with the same generous impulse.''

The book contains no mention of lessons or images illustrating vices. The elements of good, as seen in a picture, are organized to the end that they may become a force enabling the child to strengthen its will. The writer has had the pleasure of witnessing lessons where this method and text were in use, and he is convinced that the French have worked out an educational philosophy and practice in this field, that are destined to gain a wider foothold, not only in France but in other countries.

Outside the school-room there are important forces at work trying to strengthen moral and civic education.

The *Aide Morale* held 107 sessions in the year 1920-1 in Paris and the suburbs.

The *Ligue Française d'Education Morale* was founded in 1912. Before the War it enjoyed a brief period of prosperity. In 1920 it was reorganized. This organization is committed to following a campaign for raising public morals. Lectures and Conferences are held in the schools, and other educational centres. The main office is in Paris. An effort is made to maintain branches in all the cities and villages of France. The movement seems to make no serious appeal to any large number. This appears to be accounted for in part by

the fact that few of the leaders and speakers have any definite practical plans of operation. The writer has attended a number of meetings. Each time the lecturer developed some theoretical subject dealing with morals. Not uncommonly he would discuss Greece and the Middle Ages. Very little was said about the France of to-day. Such meetings give the impression of an intellectual discourse. It is always dignified, well-delivered and entertaining. However, the masses who are in real need of help can get almost nothing out of these Conferences. The scholarship of the French Secondary and Higher Schools seems to impede men in their efforts to deal with a real world. One finds quite a number who show a real desire to be helpful. However, they seem not to know how, and are unable to grasp the practical situation.

The *Ligue Française de l'Enseignement* has taken under its patronage the *Foyer Civique* which was founded in May, 1919. Its principles and methods of work are given by one of its chief patrons, M. Gustave Lanson, Directeur de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. He says: " The Association of the *Foyer Civique* aims at forwarding the work of national education and the formation of the civic conscience. It does not pretend to substitute itself for the school, but to complete it. The school is charged with the work of instructing; it also gives moral education, and when one realizes that it is to the school that one owes the admirable type of soldier, contributed by France to the Great War, one is not inclined to minimize the value of scholastic education. But the fact remains that the teacher is obliged first to follow a certain programme of instruction and that all moral training has to be given in connection with and by means of the subjects studied. Now, the Association of the *Foyer Civique* puts moral education in the first place on its programme and though, as in any and all liberal forms of education, sentiments are made to depend on knowledge and on the reflection which comes from broader knowledge, yet the *Foyer Civique* has no obligatory programme of studies, it does not consider itself bound to give complete instruction in any definite manner. It makes use of no books, it replaces them by the ' cinema.' By the help of this latter it suggests images, forms visions in the mind of the child, which, to a certain degree, will influence the ulterior development of its character. Unlike the State, we are under no obligation to give importance to personal effort, and as we act only during the intervals between the class-hours, we can, without any scruples, offer education under the form of amusement. We seek to connect, as far as possible, the visions presented by the films with the realities by which the child is surrounded. Starting with these, we shall draw his attention to details he has not noticed and teach him to see them for himself. From the known we shall lead him step by step to the unknown. From the familiar world about him, in which he is, as it were, imprisoned, we shall take him to far-away regions and to times long-past. He will see life beginning and developing on earth and the effort of those who have preceded us. This methodical presentation of specially-chosen pictures will have as aim, and we hope as result, the awakening of curiosity and the provocation of reflection.

If the films are well thought-out, they will show divers aspects of human life at different ages and under divers geographical conditions. Their very length will make the child understand by what intensity of effort man slowly conquered security and well-being. They will reveal to him that only by constancy of solidarity and perpetual defeat of anti-social egoism has man been able to gradually possess the earth and master all its forces. The irresistible evidence of facts will prove to the child that the egoist, the wicked, who pretend to be *supermen*, with the right to make use of others for their own advancement are, in reality, but survivals of and reversions to the primitive brute, degenerate types inferior to men of the present day and destined to be eliminated, in spite of their apparent and transitory triumphs. And, thus, the pictures we shall show will lead the most simple minds to a clear understanding of the principles necessary to social life: subordination of the individual to the family, to the tribe, to the country; solidarity of men and nations; social value of discipline, justice and goodness. These principles will be all the more forceful in that they will not be conceived as abstractions, but will be demonstrated by realities placed before the child, who will be made to realize that they are the products of a long human experience."

In the literature which the association circulates one notes the special emphasis put upon the urgent need of repopulation. Such a campaign leads to related questions, such as prevention of infant mortality, unhygienic dwellings, alcoholism and the *cabarets*. Attention is further centred in political reform. The specific measures under discussion are electoral reform, reduction of the number of members of Parliament and shorter sessions.

Renewed effort is to be made to raise the influence and power of the teacher. This is to be accomplished by giving him a better scientific and artistic preparation. Further, he is to be provided with a modern hygienic building in which to carry on his teaching. Very definite complaints are made regarding over-crowding in certain schools and the unhygienic conditions which follow. It is charged that the authorities are still continuing to build schools that are too small and that are located in narrow and unhealthy streets. The ceilings are low and, in some cases, there is not even a floor. All these conditions are to undergo a radical improvement in the belief that this will go far toward bridging the great gap that separates the children of the *bourgeois* from those of the people. "The most firmly-rooted of these prejudices is the belief that the child of the workman is by nature dirty, rude and accustomed to vile speech; to which the *directrice* of a Normal School makes the very just reply that 'certainly there are badly-behaved children, but are they all in the primary schools? And if these cases are more frequent at the primary schools it is for two reasons: one, the economic and social order, which would disappear sooner than expected were everyone, workman and *bourgeois* alike, to live under equally hygienic and salubrious conditions; the other, the lack of a sufficient number of teachers and the miserable installation of many of the schools.'"[1]

[1] See *Manuel Général de l'Instruction Public*, October 9th, 1920.

(*d*) The New Education

The pedagogical ideas, such as are carried into execution by the Deweyites in the United States and the supporters of the "New Ideals" in education in England, are also taking root in France. The number of schools under the influence of these late methods to any appreciable extent is still quite limited. The hope of the movement rests upon the enthusiasm and clear-headed conceptions of its leaders. An important exposition of their methods, books and results already obtained in certain French schools was held at the Musée Pédagogique during the month of April, 1922. The first annual assembly was held at Versailles, June 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1922. The session was introduced by the foreword which was as follows: "Our association, founded in January, 1921, has for its aim the union of all those educationists who have decided to encourage, in France, the personal activities of children, either at school or at home. It also aims at helping these educationists to make known their experiences, in order that the effort of each may be profitable to all and so hasten the necessary transformation in our methods of education. Psychological and experimental pedagogical discoveries tend, everywhere, to prove that the aim of education is not that of forming children (which so often means 'deforming' them), but of creating for them the atmosphere necessary for their favourable development. Experience has shown that it is in an atmosphere of free activity that this development best takes place, and that children attain to a higher physical, intellectual and moral level under the influence of that atmosphere than they ever do by the methods at present in favour. In exactly the same way that modern hygiene has rejected the swaddling-clothes in which babies were formerly deformed, so does the new education reject the excessive restraint put upon the intellectual and moral faculties of children. The child is an individual, endowed with a personality worthy of our respect. It is our duty to provide it with the necessary material and spiritual food and then to allow it to grow in peace. We must let it act and express itself as it likes, for in this way we shall get to know the child and it will be able first to develop its muscles and then by the control of the latter, its attention and will-power, which are the foundation of all intellectual and moral growth. Finally, it is our duty to encourage the child at games and collective work, for by these he will learn to serve others, and it is by personal service that all truly civilized beings are known."

As is to be expected these new notions are being subjected to great criticism in France. Many hold that the whole scheme is both visionary and unpractical. While the critics are expending their skill in trying to crush these innovations, a most fortunate result is taking place. They are learning the merits of that which they are attacking, and, in due time, may be counted among the veritable champions of an educational philosophy which they thought to deride.

Chapter IV

THE REFORM ISSUES IN FRENCH EDUCATION

(*a*) A Period of Uncertainty

The War gave rise to new ideas; it also revived old ones. An idea is not necessarily progressive just because it is new, neither is it antiquated just because it is old. The discussions now going on in the Parliament, in the daily press and in educational circles appear to present, in about equal degree, all shades of progressive and reactionary opinion. Each contending group regards the reforms which it promulgates as distinctly progressive. However, no one group pretends that its ideas are wholly new. All resent the charge of being reactionary. The truth is that there are certain new elements in every one of the reform programmes. Even when the underlying ideas have been long known to educational history, there is an adaptation to the present stage of development, that gives an air of the untried. The Superior Council[1] is about equally divided on the majority of questions at issue. The attitude of a large group of teachers is one of hesitation. For the moment it is difficult to foresee whether French education is moving toward progress or reaction. However generous may be our interpretation and judgment of some of the projects now occupying the attention of the law-makers and those responsible for educational action, we must denote some of them as reactionary in the extreme, if we accept the most modern and approved psychology and art in teaching.

(*b*) The Common School (*L'Ecole Unique*)

1. *Proposed Organization*

The War did give a powerful stimulus in the direction of democratic ideas in France. In the dark hours of 1916-17 this reached its fullest and sincerest expression. The people were preparing to forget all about social classes. The need for unity was everywhere imminent. The Germans were coming toward Paris. The country was on the verge of its last resources in both men and munitions. Aid from the great Republic across the sea still seemed far away. The French, as we have already noted in the case of the British, were turning their thoughts towards making their last Will and Testament. Among the

[1] See p. 102.

important clauses in that instrument was to be the bequeathing of a common school[1] (*école unique*) for all the people.

In those days of repentance, the opponents were forced to keep a grim silence. Even they could see that such a philosophy, however they might disdain it, did ensure unity at home and sympathy abroad.

A part of the press undertook to champion this revival of democratic practice and faith. The *Ecole et la Vie*, itself a creation of the War, started one of its first numbers by representing two *poilus*, a *bourgeois* and a workman shaking hands and saying, "We have fought together in the trenches, our children shall now sit side by side on the same school-bench."

In 1917, the new democratic movement gave evidence of having crystallized within the army itself. A group of young officers began contributing a series of articles to a well-known weekly, *L'Opinion*. These articles gave evidence that the dreadful ordeal at the front was leading men to ponder over the fate of the world in general, and of their own country in particular. Men were coming down from the "ivory tower" into the ranks, in order to take an active responsibility in the reorganization of a new spirit for the world that was to be. Idealism was becoming practical.

Shortly after, a corporation was formed, known as the *Compagnons*, a name borrowed from the guilds of the Middle Ages. The original list of its members contained forty-five names, among which were to be found those of Edouard Herriot, Deputy, Mayor of Lyons, and Louis Cazamian, Professor at the Sorbonne. Thirteen of the group had received the Legion of Honour, twenty-two had been wounded in battle, and thirty-three had been mentioned for bravery. Soon after, they founded a monthly journal, known as *La Solidarité*, which has become their official organ. There are quite a number of other papers all over France supporting the cause. The group has been enlarged, so that teachers of all types of schools and any persons interested may become members. A number of the professors at the Sorbonne and other French Universities take an active interest in the *Compagnons*. Soon, their first book appeared, entitled *L'Université Nouvelle*, a collection of some of the articles mentioned above. The volume was headed by the striking epigraph from *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, "Now, everything becomes fluid. The world is plastic for men to do what they will with it."

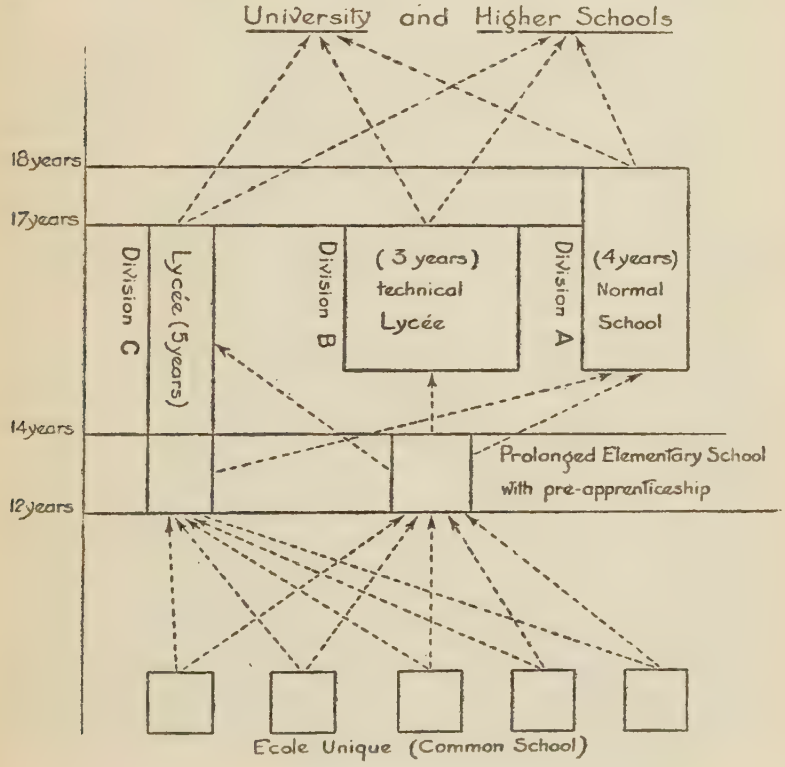
It was incumbent upon those who felt a responsibility for the future welfare of the State to resist no longer the democratic evolution of society. Was it not true that the war had been fought for an enlarged and more fully realized democracy? The first and most natural step would be the *école unique*. To separate the French nation from the

[1] The idea was not new to France. It has never been without its advocates since the appearance of the writings of Montesquieu and of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The French Revolution reinforced it. The Convention took the question under serious consideration, and measures were introduced which provided universal and gratuitous instruction for all. Nothing practical was achieved. (See p. 94.)

beginning into two classes, and keep these for ever apart, owing to their different education, was contrary to common sense, justice and national interest. There should be, therefore, one teacher and one examination for all.

The common school is not to be uniform throughout the country. Regional needs are to be taken into consideration. School activity is to be the true product of the social and economic life of the province in which it is located, and of its own decade and century. Instruction need not be given in the same building. The *école unique* is not even regarded as irreconcilable with the existence of the *école libre* (Church School). The reform does not insist upon a monopoly of instruction or upon excessive centralization. Its unity lies in the facility with which all children may pass on to higher institutions. The highest possible efficiency of the French Republic is no longer to be sacrificed because of an educational system which by means of insurmountable barriers resting in part on feudal class distinctions, excludes many of its most talented children.

How is the *école unique* going to be organized? The diagram gives the essential features.



We pass, for the moment, all discussion about the school-life of the child before the age of six years. Important as that may be, it does not primarily concern the great reforms in administration and organization for which the *Compagnons* are contending.

The diagram above indicates that during the period from the ages of six to twelve years all children will be in the same school. There is no uniformity of opinion about the age at which this first period should end. Many hold that the age of eleven is much to be preferred. On leaving this school children are to be directed to diverse branches of instruction, according to their aptitude: one group toward pre-apprenticeship, another toward technical and commercial secondary education, and finally, a third group toward general culture. The aptitude alone of the child must guide the parent and teacher in the choice to be made. The influence of fortune is not to be a consideration. All forms are gratuitous.

How shall the aptitude of the child be determined? Its wishes and the aspirations of the parents are certainly elements to be considered. However, it seems not possible to dispense with examinations, in spite of all that has been said against them. The *Compagnons* hold that no way has yet been devised by which an examination can be replaced.[1]

The Binet tests are to be used. These will distinguish between the normal and abnormal child. It is recognized, however, that more than this is needed. The note-books of the pupil are to be given a certain consideration and, finally, any wishes expressed by examiner or teacher are to be taken into account.[2]

Enough has been said to show that the *Compagnons* are thoroughly democratic in their intentions. They wish to forward talent wherever it may be found. In spite of the present reaction there is reason to believe that these ideas must prevail in France at some future time. They certainly mark the trend arising out of the present industrial and social evolution.

[1] Just here the reader is asked to note carefully that the diagram allows for all possible mistakes in these decisions. For illustration, a pupil may have started at the age of twelve in division C—general culture—and later it becomes evident that his capacity and temperament have been misjudged. He may then be taken out of that line altogether, and transferred to the Technical Lycée or even to the apprenticeship-course. Again, he may have developed rather slowly, and shown his real capacity and tastes only at the age of fourteen or fifteen years. In that case, provision is still made whereby a transfer may be effected. The courses are never to be so rigid that a late-developing but ambitious child will find it impossible to change to another vocation or profession. This may appear to the reader to be both idealistic and impracticable. The *Compagnons* are not at all unaware of the difficulties, and for that reason it is expected that constant observation will be made, so that revisions can be instituted in time to ensure for the child a career most suited to its talents, and at the same time to cause a minimum of friction in the new class to which the transfer is made.

[2] In case either examiner or teacher has any reason to believe that a pupil has latent talent, not shown by the examination, tests, etc., the pupil is given the benefit of the doubt and allowed to try the course to which he aspires. The *Compagnons* do not forget that Pasteur was not regarded as an apt pupil, and that he rarely passed any examination with credit.

2. *Proposed Legislation*

The common school idea has found strong support in the French Parliament. Two deputies, M. Buisson and M. Groussier, presented a project that contained the essentials of the *Compagnons* plan.

This proposed law would suppress all preparatory classes to Colleges and Lycées after the year 1928,[1] and would abolish the scholastic rewards and payments in all Secondary and Vocational Institutions of public instruction, substituting instead a system of scholarships (*bourses*) providing free admission for candidates recognized as most able to pursue advanced instruction with profit. These competitive examinations (*concours*) would be open to all pupils of both public and private schools. The proposition goes so far as to grant aid to the families of the selected pupils in case of need.[2] Next there will be selected an *élite* group for the various Vocational and Technical Schools, to be aided in the same way as the first group. Finally comes the great mass who are not the beneficiaries of either system of selection. For these school-attendance is to be extended until the age of fourteen. This is to be followed by compulsory Continuation School attendance for one hour per day, during the working-day, for a period of four years.

Their project has attracted considerable attention in the educational papers. It has been noticed in the French press at large. It never had any chance of actually becoming law. Its chief mission was its service as useful propaganda for a democratic and popular education. The cause may win some day, but not now.

In February, 1910, it was followed by the project of Rameil—Laval—Avril, which is similar to it, but more precise in its stipulations. It provides that at the end of the twelfth year all boys and girls of both the public and private schools shall be examined with a view to promotion into an institution of the second degree. A variety of devices, including the Binet tests, is suggested as the means of making the selection. The selected pupils shall be aided financially in case of need, in the continuance of their studies. As in the previous project, it is provided that the families of the scholarship-pupils may become the recipients of aid.

[1] In other words, all children would go to the same school. Of course, the right to attend a private school would still obtain.

[2] Such a proposition is an unalloyed Utopia. It is interesting because it illustrates a well-known characteristic of much of the suggested French legislation. It is an outgrowth of untried theories. It takes its origin from books and speculation, and not from life. Such propositions show noble intentions on the part of the promoters, but at the same time they reveal a weakness in the grasp of the most elementary principles of sound economics. In fact the same charge is quite applicable to nearly all the addresses and literature put forward by the *Compagnons*. One discerns a want of economic knowledge in all their proposed readjustments. Even the foremost scholars of that group seem never to direct their attention to the necessity of making the masses free. Their proposed scholarships are mere palliatives. They will find no place in an educational system that grows out of really modern conceptions of education and sociology.

At the end of each year an examination is to be held. Evidence of incapacity or wilful neglect will lead to forfeiture of the scholarship. Scholastic merit and financial necessity may secure aid not only throughout the course of the secondary institution, but it may be extended for the pursuit of studies in the higher institutions.

Like its predecessor, this scheme was a new form of keeping public opinion alive on educational questions. It represents a high hope possessed by the many. No one would be more surprised than the promoters themselves if such legislation could really be enacted. The day seems still far distant when the French democracy will have arrived at a stage where anything akin to the *Compagnons* plan could become a reality.

(*c*) Proposals to make Continuation School Attendance Universal and Compulsory

1. *The Viviani Project of 1917*

The proposed law contemplated a course of 300 hours per year, apportioned as follows:—

General education	50 hours.
Vocational education	150 hours.
Physical education	100 hours.

This was to apply to all boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and to girls between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. It was to be followed by a second course of 200 hours per year: 100 hours devoted to general education, and 100 hours to physical education. This applied to boys until the eighteenth completed year, and to girls until the twentieth completed year, unless they married before that age. The course in general and vocational education was to take place during the legal working-day. The physical exercises were planned for Sunday.

The project had three objects: to make a good workman, a good soldier, and a good citizen. For a young woman, special stress was laid on education that would strengthen the knowledge of hygiene, practical medicine, and puriculture. "The adolescent school ought to be, for the boys, a school of the soldier; for the girls, a school of mothers."[1]

The fact that the law was proposed in the darkest hours of the War will excuse in part the apparent insistence upon the military side of instruction. The main importance of the whole question lay in the proposed effort to make this form of education compulsory. For Germany such an idea is quite acceptable; for Great Britain it is not considered impossible or unreasonable; but for France it means well-nigh a revolution.

It seems now that the Viviani project never had any real chance of becoming law. Its main service lay in the immense amount of discussion which it aroused in all classes of society. It has served a most

[1] See the *Projet de Loi*, by M. René Viviani, March 13th, 1917.

useful purpose in educating public opinion to a realization of the necessity that something definite and progressive should be done sooner or later.

2. *The Ducos Project of 1921*

The Viviani project has been replaced by another proposal by M. Ducos, member of the Chamber of Deputies.

This proposed law of October 26th, 1921, requires all children, after leaving the Elementary School, to continue their instruction until the end of the eighteenth year. The course requires 300 hours annually, apportioned as has been indicated in the Viviani project.

There are seven different types of courses: industrial, commercial, agricultural, domestic science, physical, general, and nautical. Each type has a distinct board of control chosen from persons who are active in these respective lines of work. In each case, to ensure a certain amount of unity there is a delegate who represents the inspector of the Academy.

This may be considered as the latest effort to raise the standard of education among the people. For the time-being there is not the slightest likelihood that such a law will pass. France is busy with foreign affairs. Any additional energy that may be available for educational questions is being spent on the reform of secondary education. Only after that question is settled may we hope that public attention can be aroused to take definite progressive action for the whole people. Further, it may be safely asserted that the present conservative Parliament will do nothing for popular education.

(*d*) A Return to the Classics

After the doctrines of the *Compagnons* and the projects of Viviani, Buisson-Groussier, and Rameil—Laval—Avril had been before the public for four or five years, there came a sudden turn showing that the reactionaries had at last found courage to speak about educational matters. Apparently every other stronghold in France had already been taken by them. The schools alone remained.

We have seen that four years after the Great War the French system of education remains in outward appearance similar to that of 1914. However, powerful forces have been loosened, and are playing upon it. The consequences of the War are certain to exercise an enormous influence. It is now only a question of the direction in which the cultural movements will proceed.

All the French educational projects thus far considered must certainly be regarded as progressive. The optimism and idealism of the War had much to do in calling them forth. However, for the time being its stern realities and final consequences have dashed the hope that any of these changes in education can be effected. Indeed, the tide has turned. It is no longer a question of progress. The issue that

looms up on the horizon for the moment is a challenge to France to hold her own. Friends of progressive democracy, both in France and outside of France, view the present trend with great misgiving. M. Léon Bérard's project of June, 1922, is considered by many as marking a turn in the tide. This project[1] contains quite a number of important changes, such as the abolition of the cycles[2] and a reduction of hours, which we pass without comment. The change on which the whole contest hinges is the proposal to make Latin compulsory for four years, and Greek for two years, for all students.[3]

The study of Latin is to begin in the sixth form, and Greek in the fourth. Having completed the third form,[4] the pupils will be subjected to an examination in Latin, Greek, and French. The passing of such a test will entitle the pupil to a special certificate of classical studies. No one may present himself for the *baccalauréat* who has not obtained this certificate. The pupils are now ready to enter the second form,[5] i.e., the fifth year of their Secondary School life. A choice between two sections is open to them. Section A will be a continuation of the Latin and Greek studies, in addition to modern languages and the sciences. In Section B the French language and literature will be continued. Greek and Latin, however, will be replaced by an additional modern language, and courses in mathematics and the experimental sciences.

Minister Bérard holds that secondary education has only one mission, which, without any immediate utilitarian pre-occupation, is to mould the young, who, in whatever sense they may specialize later on, will distinguish themselves by their capacity to interest and adapt them-

[1] The Minister of Education cannot make any radical changes in the curriculum without consulting the Superior Council. He is not, however, obliged to take its advice. In this case, the Council is divided nearly equally. At one time there were supposed to be twenty-two members supporting the Ministers, but eighteen were known to be opposed to the proposition. The discussion in the daily press and on the public platform led to an interpellation in Parliament. That means that the opponents of the Minister have raised the question of confidence in the present Ministry. This will be the test of strength. If the vote, which is to be taken early in 1923, should fail to support the Minister of Education, it might lead to the fall of the Poincaré Government. However, the latter is quite popular. Hence, it is estimated that some members of Parliament, although opposed to M. Bérard's project, would hesitate to imperil the Poincaré Ministry. Indications are that the Minister will succeed in putting the new system into operation in October, 1923.

[2] See the present programme, pp. 112 sqq.

[3] Towards the end of 1922 the Minister announced his willingness to allow Division B (see p. 113) to remain in the programme. However, pupils pursuing these studies are not to be allowed to become candidates for the Bachelor's Degree, hence, all the liberal professions, law, medicine, and all the higher posts in teaching are to be denied them. Probably very few would enroll for a course that leads to nothing.

[4] The pupil will ordinarily have attained the age of fourteen or fifteen years.

[5] There still remains the first form (the sixth year), and then follows a choice of either the philosophical or mathematical forms, which constitute the seventh, and last year of Secondary School studies.

selves with ease and profit to the diverse creations of the spirit and of the industry of men. The Minister and his followers are convinced that nothing equals Latin as an instrument for affording mental discipline.

Opposition to the project is being led by a large number of intellectuals. Toward the end of November, 1922, an open letter[1] was addressed to the members of the Superior Council. In this communication, some clear-cut objections to the ministerial project were raised. The letter was signed by ten members of the Superior Council, nine members of the Institute, and seventy-two members of the Faculties of Letters and Science of the Sorbonne. It was, further, endorsed by the *Compagnons* and the *Association des Anciens Combattants de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de l'Enseignement Secondaire Public.* Besides, there were added many other prominent names. This will enable the reader to appreciate how thoroughly those interested in the higher educational life of France are aroused to the importance of the issue. We give in summary form some of the arguments in the letter in question.

In forcing all pupils to take both Latin and Greek the beginning classes will be filled with a large number who will have decided to abandon these languages at the end of the required time. Many of them will show neither zeal nor interest in these exercises. They will constitute a dead weight, and, in consequence, the real clientèle of the classical languages will suffer. Further, forcing the study of Latin and Greek will seriously diminish the time spent on French.

The modern section (without either Latin or Greek), which the Minister anticipates shall be put along with the classical section, is opposed because it is nothing more than a parallel to advanced primary courses. It is to lead to a simple certificate only, which will admit the student to almost none of the liberal professions. It is condemned from the start as a refuge for those who cannot succeed in Latin.

The time is said to be inopportune for neglecting French, when certain foreign countries are making a special effort to imbibe French culture.[2]

Finally, the anti-democratic character of the project is cited. It is argued (and with much truth) that instead of facilitating the access of the better pupils to the Secondary Schools, it makes it more difficult, if not almost impossible.[3]

[1] *See L'Ere Nouvelle,* November 28th, 1922.

[2] There is great truth in this argument. This turn toward Latin and Greek in France will be certain to have the effect of damping the ardour for the study of French in the United States. French is taking the place very rapidly of both German and Latin. It will be hard for the Americans to maintain the position that the French language furnishes a sufficient basis for high culture if the French people themselves find it insufficient.

[3] All the above arguments, and others besides, are developed at length in an article by Ferdinand Brunot, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Sorbonne. See *Athéna,* April, 1922.

Each number of *La Solidarité,* official organ of *Les Compagnons,* carries one or more long and interesting articles on the question of compulsory Latin for all.

The strongest argument for the study of Latin lies in the proximity of Latin and French. This fact will always lead a large number of French students to pursue the language from which their own originated. However, there are eminent French teachers who testify to a favourable comparison between the facility of expression among Secondary School girls—who do not study Latin—and the style and diction of the boys—who are classical students.

"Finally, we are told that students who elect Latin in our schools reveal themselves later as having better minds than those who do not take Latin, and that as men and women they succeed better along almost all lines. But to those who realize the forces of selection always operative among parents and even among children themselves, the inferences usually drawn from these facts represent the baldest kind of reasoning '*post hoc ergo propter hoc.*' There is much evidence indeed that heretofore, and even yet, pupils selecting courses containing Latin are natively superior to those who do not make such selections. Parents aspiring after the best for their children do not set themselves up as experts in determining values of studies. Naturally, they accept the judgments of the higher institutions, and, in matters in which confessedly they have little knowledge, they prefer to abide by respected custom and tradition. But there exists as yet no available evidence to show that, even in mental powers as judged by ordinary standards, the superior students found in Latin owe their superiority to their Latin studies."[1]

In France one hears much about the educational value of Latin as a means of mental discipline. Dewey has shown quite conclusively that "We cannot establish a hierarchy of values among studies. It is futile to attempt to arrange them in an order, beginning with one having least worth and going on to that of maximum value.[2] . . . .

"As a matter of fact, such schemes of values of studies are largely but unconscious justifications of the curriculum with which one is familiar. One accepts, for the most part, the studies of the existing course and then assigns values to them as a sufficient reason for their being taught."[3]

"Again, we are solemnly assured that through the study of these ancient languages and the few easily available examples of their literatures, there is produced a kind of magic mental discipline, a unique kind of sharpening of the mental faculties, not to be found in studies of other languages or literatures, nor in other subjects based on the realities of our own day and generation. As if the living gymnastics of mind were not best to be secured through those activities of mental and spiritual apprehension and action which come from

[1] Snedden, David, *Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education*, p. 102.

[2] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, p. 281.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 287.

strong efforts to possess and to control the realities of habit, knowledge, and ideal that have worth for to-day and for to-morrow!''[1]

Another defective theory that obtains in France and elsewhere conceives the mind as having certain faculties waiting to be trained. Latin is supposed to contain unique values that will occasion the exercise of these general powers. '' Perhaps the most direct mode of attack consists in pointing out that the supposed original faculties of observation, recollection, willing, thinking, etc., are purely mythological.''[2]

M. Bérard regards education as a preparation and formal discipline. He is still under the impression that education ought to be a preparation for life, whereas the modern conception holds that the educative process should not be made subordinate to any ends outside the process itself.[3] Instead of being a preparation and discipline carried on in situations more or less detached from the activity of the world about us, education is to be regarded as a social function, and a continued reconstruction of experience.[4]

[1] Snedden, David, *Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education*, p 101.

[2] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, p. 73.

[3] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, p. 117; also pp. 63-80.

[4] For a detailed development of this argument, see Roman, F. W., *La Place de la Sociologie dans l'Education aux Etats-Unis*, chapter on *L'Education comme Fonction Sociale.*

PART III

GERMANY

Chapter I

THE STANDARDS THAT FORMERLY DOMINATED THE ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF GERMAN SCHOOLS

(*a*) Subserviency to the State

The German Revolution wrought sweeping changes in the schools. The transformations, however, can be explained only in part by the political and educational opinions of those who were most actively interested in the overthrow of the old *régime*. The schools of the New Republic give evidence of certain outstanding and persistent characteristics that are far stronger than the unstable Government that now presides over them. The regularity in school-attendance, the effort on the part of municipalities and parents to keep the schools at a high level of efficiency in equipment, the cleanliness, the respect for order and discipline, and finally, the great faith in education, are among the salient points that rest upon a force many times greater than anything that the present Government could have engendered. These are expressions of an advanced culture, and it is evident that they could not have been acquired yesterday. The search for adequate reasons that will account for what we now witness leads us to embark upon an examination of the history of German education. If this system of education has developed certain extraordinary and enviable virtues, it also remains to be explained what failings were inherent in it that contributed towards the abnormal militarism which led Germany along the road to ruin.

The reader will note that we are concerned in this chapter with questions of administration and organization only.[1] For centuries the German State, the University and the Church co-operated in administering and organizing forms of education. Of these three

[1] There were certain phases of the ideal that guided the teaching and that lent themselves quite easily to military purposes. This was a very subtle influence, and it is safe to say that very few German teachers were aware of the possible harm and exploitation that were always latent in the pedagogical doctrines that dominated their schools.

forces the State may be said to have played the leading rôle since the days of the Reformation. After the founding of the German Empire (1871) the State assumed even greater control over all educational matters. If the University and Church still seem to exercise important functions, it will be found upon closer examination that these are directly under the control of the Government instead of acting in any independent capacity. The unfortunate concentration of power in the least responsible of the three forces explains in part the formidable stupidity of Germany's conduct in the War. It was one of the most remarkable cases in history when great intellect and high virtues were employed to forward ends that were wholly ignoble.

(*b*) The Development in Prussia

Prussian education has a much shorter history than that of England or France. At the very outset we can detect a difference both in educational ideals and in the methods used to put them into execution, as compared with the two latter countries.

Before the coming of the Electors of the Hohenzollerns (1535-1640) there were few traces of schools of any kind in the territory that constituted Old Prussia. The first decree was ordered by Joachim II in 1540, and was inspired by the spirit of the Reformation which could hope to maintain itself only by the rapid spread of knowledge among the people. Even at that date we note the genuine Prussian ring. The schools were to be established for the purpose of " maintaining the Christian religion and the support of an efficient police. (*Die Erhaltung guter Polizei*)."[1]

There was no idea at that time of making attendance compulsory. Parents who sent their children did so because of the practical utility that was gained. Religion, reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. The schools were confined almost exclusively to the towns.

The management of the schools was placed in the hands of a group of six persons, three from the Church and three from the laity. At that date this marked a great contrast with what was taking place in England and France. Even then the State was preparing to take the control of education away from the Church.

Joachim-Friedrich issued an order in 1600 that his inspectors should note whether teachers were being provided for all schools, and whether there was ample provision for the maintenance of teachers; further, specific information was requested regarding the instruction, discipline, examinations and habits of the teacher. Here, again, we see evidence that the schools were coming under the direct supervision of the Prince. " The new common school (*Volksschule*) is not a

[1] Müller, C., *Grundriss der Geschichte des preussischen Volksschulwesens*, Band VII, p. 2.

This is a very scholarly work. It contains all the more important decrees and school-laws from the earliest beginnings of the Prussian State down to our own time. The influences that were active in each of the several periods of Prussian educational history are carefully documented and explained.

direct creation of the Reformation and the Church, but of the State through the Church."[1]

Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-40) instituted in 1717 the first school-law that provided for universal and compulsory education.[2] Special emphasis was laid upon the importance of sending the children in the country-districts to school. Parents were to be punished if they failed to comply with the law. School-fees were to be charged, but in the case of poor families the fees were to be paid out of the alms of the municipality. Children were required to attend school until they were versed in the catechism, biblical history, reading, singing, writing and arithmetic.

Further, the King took up the questions of the salaries and training of the teachers. The decree of 1722 ordered that, in addition to the fees paid by some of the children, the teachers were to be entitled to a monopoly in any of the trades in which they were skilled—tailoring, linen-weaving, blacksmithing, wheelmaking or carpentry. If the teacher were unskilled in any trade, he was allowed a vacation of six weeks to work in the harvests. In some parts of Prussia the community furnished the teacher with certain quantities of produce. In others, he was paid stipulated sums of money.

Seminaries for the training of teachers were established. School-inspection was inaugurated.

Frederick the Great (1740-86) emphasized his father's efforts in education. There was a steady improvement in attendance and scholarship. That the children of the masses must go to school was now an accepted tradition. This evolution was more than one-hundred years ahead of either England or France. Ministers of education were already well-known personages. The names of Hecker, Süssmilch, Freiherr von Rockow and von Zedlitz give ample testimony that the Prussian State was looking to education as to an important source of power.

Freiherr von Stein, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Fichte are names connected with every form of education. Here we most clearly see evidence that the State and the University co-operated in dominating all forms of education.

Von Stein, as State Minister, founded the University of Berlin. He was greatly under the influence of Kant. Hence he followed the principle that a nation's greatness is dependent upon a universal and thorough education of the masses. No form of education escaped his attention. In 1808 von Humboldt became Minister of Education. He was recognized as one of the greatest scholars of his time. His activities in connection with the University of Berlin were one of the factors that helped that institution to leap into world-fame at its very

[1] Heman-Moog, *Geschichte der neueren Pädagogik*, p. 75. This volume is devoted to a discussion of all the educational reforms in Germany since the sixteenth century. A summarized statement of the doctrines of the leading educational philosophers is given.

[2] Müller, C., *Grundriss der Geschichte des preussischen Volksschulwesens*, p. 23.

beginning. Now his work in reorganizing the Secondary and Elementary Schools is just one more proof that German education has been directed by the State, but always under the influence of the doctrines promulgated at the Universities. The writings and activities of Fichte lend further support to the same argument. He was the first rector of the University of Berlin. A University professor and world-renowned philosopher, he, too, urged that the nation's existence could be secured only by the education of the masses. His contributions towards the spirit that united Germany are regarded as his greatest, cleverest and most enduring achievement.[1]

Certain definite tendencies must now be clear in the mind of the reader. More than a hundred years ago popular education was already making great headway in Germany. From its earliest beginnings it had been led most distinctly from above. This characteristic continued down to the time of the Great War. The Germans were an intelligent, industrious and good-hearted people. They obeyed their masters well. In an evil day they fell upon irresponsible leadership, and their very efficiency became the most powerful instrument in forging their ruin.[2]

(*c*) The Development in other German States

Germany had an important educational development for two or three centuries before the Reformation. However, it holds no great importance for our thesis, because the doctrines of Luther broke quite completely with the past. Up to that time the school was regarded as the daughter of the Church, and in a sense it remained in that relation even up to the time of the Great War. Luther taught a new doctrine which Germany accepted. He proclaimed the State Authority as an institution, quite as sacred as the Church herself. This tended to strengthen the hands of the Princes, who soon assumed the responsibility for regulating both religion and education. This fact is of the highest importance. In it lies the explanation of Germany's rise to greatness, and also of her fall.

In Würtemberg the decree of 1559 gave a uniform organization to the whole school-system. Schools were to be established in all villages and in the country. The children were to be taught religion, singing, reading and writing.

In that early day the Continuation School idea sprang into existence from a feeling on the part of the Church that the home-influence was not sufficient to enable the child to meet life's duties successfully. The interest of the Church in morals and salvation found expression in an ever-extending control over the rearing of the child. In consequence of the meagre schooling for the youth, the Church of the

[1] See Müller, C., *Grundriss der Geschichte des preussischen Volksschulwesens*, p. 122.

[2] The Allied Nations seem to realize only dimly the errors in the German system. Four years after the Armistice we can say with complete confidence that not one of them shows any signs of profiting by Germany's mistakes. On the contrary, they are making no small amount of effort to imitate her follies.

sixteenth century conceived the idea of prolonging the period of religious instruction. In Germany, in the year 1589, the Bishop of Samland came forward with a plan. The centuries following witnessed a mass of Church edicts calling for the establishing of Continuation Schools of a religious type. Würtemberg led the way, followed by Baden and Bavaria.

Würtemberg, which took the lead in founding these Continuation Schools of a religious and cultural character, was also the State that led the way when the time came to change these schools into an industrial form in order to meet the improved economic, social and cultural conditions.

In 1836 this whole movement was regulated by law. Pupils whose attendance at public schools was no longer required were obliged to attend Sunday School until their eighteenth year, provided they were not attending a higher type of Literary School or a special Industrial Continuation School. We note in this law a kind of indirect compulsion of attendance at a Trade School.

In 1846 there were 4,500 pupils in the sixty-nine Trade Schools of the various cities and villages. Of this number, forty-six schools had instruction for only two hours a week, and thirty-eight had only one teacher each. That the movement still depended upon charity is proved by the fact that fifty-five of the sixty-nine schools paid no salaries to their teachers.

In 1853 a Royal Commission of Industrial Continuation Schools was instituted. The Commission was put under the Ministry of Churches and Schools.

The chief regulations made by this Commission were these:

1st. In general, the Sunday Trade Schools shall not only be maintained in their former functions, but shall be improved in conformity with the industrial requirements of the locality and in accordance with the possibilities of obtaining money and teachers. The course of study shall be extended to include hours of instruction in the morning and evening of week-days.

2nd. In the chief industrial cities the Industrial Continuation School instruction shall, so far as possible, have the following organization:

(*a*) For those apprentices who by reason of their talent and future opportunities neither desire nor are able to obtain a complete training, the instruction shall be concentrated upon the most important matters, and the time of instruction shall be limited to Sundays.

(*b*) For the more talented and ambitious, two courses shall be organized, one for the apprentice, and another for the journeyman. The instruction shall be given on week-day evenings. The course of study for the apprentice shall be: written compositions pertaining to industries of all sorts, industrial arithmetic, geometry for industrial purposes, and, finally, drawing (along the line of these two studies).

In the higher course, mathematics and drawing (including modelling) shall be continued. There shall be added to these, industrial

physics and mechanics, industrial chemistry, and finally, book-keeping and the chief principles of trade-economy.

3rd. The attendance upon the Industrial Continuation School is voluntary. Hereby it is further ordered that all must attend the ordinary Sunday School in so far as they are not in attendance upon one kind or another of the Continuation Schools. Regularity of attendance shall be insisted upon, and repeated unexcused absences shall be punished by expulsion and by the obligation to attend the Sunday School.

4th. The Industrial Continuation School shall charge a tuition-fee proportionate to the local conditions.

5th. All Industrial Continuation Schools are district institutions. The immediate supervision and guidance shall be in the hands of a District Board, which may call to its assistance mechanical trade-specialists and the Principal of the school, who shall form a sub-commission, for the purpose of planning and supervising instruction.

6th. The district is, in the first instance, responsible for the expenses of the school. An effort shall be made to have the district-corporation vote an annual sum regularly, and it is expected that the local trade-weaver's union and guilds will share the expenses, particularly in the cases of the poorer children. In so far as the expenses are not met in this way the Royal Authority is empowered to appropriate certain sums to be paid by the State.

In the early 'fifties provision was made in Stuttgart to instruct the girls in book-keeping and correspondence, and soon other cities followed the example. The necessity was obvious. Many girls must sooner or later provide for their own livelihood, and also assist in maintaining others. Frequently an unworthy or incapacitated husband must be supported. In 1861 a separate department in the Continuation School was established for girls. The course of study embraced all kinds of household work and all branches of the Industrial and Commercial School.

The theoretical and literary studies were taught by the public school-teachers. The drawing courses were given by the teachers of the Higher Schools, and, whenever possible, by men of practical experience who were appointed on a part-time basis. Only in the larger schools were drawing-teachers placed on a full-time basis.

The rise of Industrial and Commercial Schools went hand-in-hand with an undeniable advance in trade and in industry. Already in the year 1863 Märlen described the economic conditions of Würtemberg as follows:

"In no other field of economic advance has Würtemberg experienced such a complete change during the last generation as it has in the field of manufacturing, and this in direct connection with trade and transportation. It is the period in which Würtemberg went over from a predominatingly agricultural status to one of manufacture and wholesale industry."

A similar development existed in other German States. How far

this was in advance of both England and France is attested by the English investigators themselves.[1]

In 1580 Saxony issued an order that established schools in all villages and in the country. Religion, singing, reading and writing were to be taught. It set the educational standard for two-hundred years. It is a landmark in educational history, and a permanent testimony that a common school for all the people was first created by a Protestant State.[2]

After the Seven Years' War Saxony witnessed a renewed effort in education. The revised law of 1773 fixed the period of compulsory attendance between the ages of five or six and fourteen. Arithmetic was added to the curriculum. The whole school-programme was outlined in full detail. Special emphasis was laid upon the relation of the school and the family. The clergy were admonished to be industrious in school-inspection. The teachers were commanded to be humane in handling the children.

The year 1783 marks a further evolution. The schools were given a greater independence. School-inspection in the cities was given over to school-men, and if there were as many as six teachers in one school, a director was appointed, who was responsible to the district school-inspector.

The clergy still retained the office of local school-inspectors for all schools in the country and in the small villages. Not until the 1918 Revolution was this power lost. Herein lies one of the reasons, as we shall see later,[3] which explains the enthusiasm of the majority of the common school teachers for the Republic. The village and country-teachers were freed from the tyranny of the local clergy.

On Saxon soil industrial education received an earnest and early welcome. Of the 125 more important Trade Schools in Saxony at the present day, five were founded before 1830, and six more had reached the zenith of their prosperity before 1850. Before the founding of the German Empire trade and industry were highly-developed, and were being supported by more than twenty Industrial and ten Commercial Continuation Schools. Besides these the more important communities and centres had already inaugurated before 1830 Industrial Continuation Schools with voluntary attendance. Their object was to supply the deficiencies of the public school training and to complement the practical experience of the shops with a good theoretical course. Furthermore, it was thought that the growing youth—those who had just been confirmed—should be afforded an opportunity to make good use of free time instead of wasting it in riotous amusement and dissipation.

In Saxony, as in other States, these schools were supported in the

[1] See pp. 39-42.

[2] For a complete history of the common schools of Saxony, see Pätzold, W., *Geschichte des Volksschulwesens.*

[3] See pp. 182-3.

beginning by philanthropists and guilds; later, more and more by the cities and State.

It was a century of industrial education—that is one of the reasons why Saxony is to-day the heart of the German manufacturing region.

(*d*) The Effects of the Counter-Reformation

In the administration and organization of the schools regard always had to be paid to the great differences in religion. The success of the Jesuits in Germany must be looked upon as an important factor in instigating school-quarrels throughout the centuries.[1] German educational writers give due credit to the zeal and thorough instruction in the Jesuit Schools. It is also due to the Jesuits that the Catholic Church has not lost Germany altogether.[2] Before the Great War the Catholic population was 23,800,000, or about 37 per cent. of the whole. This made the Denominational School (*Konfessionelleschule*) necessary, but even this arrangement has never worked without friction. The present Republic is menaced in the extreme by difficulties that arise out of these eternal religious fights. It is the one great factor that threatens to keep the New Germany from being able to organize and administer a school-system on thorough-going democratic principles.

(*e*) Centralized Control reached its Zenith in the Organization of the German Empire

1. *As shown by the former German Constitution*

In Germany there was very little local control of schools, or of anything else. The Authority in all lines was centralized highly. The organization of the Empire and of the individual German States supports our contention.

The German Empire was composed of twenty-six States. Kaiser Wilhelm II as Emperor of Germany had little power, but as King of Prussia he was in a position to rule all Germany.

It is true that the German *Reichstag* of 397 members was elected by the people. Even that was not wholly democratic, because the number of representatives for each election-district had become grossly disproportionate to the inhabitants of the district. By reason of the tendency of the city-constituencies to return Socialists or other Radicals to the *Reichstag*, the Government had never been willing to allow a redistribution of seats. The legislative functions of the *Reichstag* were, in practice, distinctly subordinate to those of the *Bundesrath*, which was composed of fifty-eight delegates appointed by the Princes of the monarchical States and the senates of the free cities.

[1] Perhaps if the Protestants had not had the Catholics to quarrel with, they would have quarrelled among themselves. In France, the Catholics, after getting rid of the Protestants, promptly got up differences of their own.

[2] Heman-Moog, *Geschichte der neueren Pädagogik*, Chap. III.

The King of Prussia appointed seventeen for Prussia, two for Brunswick, and one for Waldeck. This gave him an absolute control of twenty votes in the *Bundesrath*.

Any proposal to amend the Constitution might be checked by as few as fourteen votes in the *Bundesrath*, whence it arose that Prussia had an absolute veto on amendments. No change might be made relating to the military affairs the navy, the tariff, and various consumptive taxes, without the consent of Prussia.

Prussia had the chairmanship of all standing-committees in the *Bundesrath*. The King of Prussia was in supreme command of the army and navy

Besides, Prussia enjoyed an immense moral force due to her lead in organizing Germany, and also to her preponderance over the remaining German States in the matter of population.

The same centralization of authority which we saw in the organization of the Empire was also characteristic of each individual State. Each German State had a two-chambered legislative body. The Upper Chamber was filled by direct appointments of the Crown, or by heredity. It was always in a position to block legislation which might be proposed by the Lower House, which was elected by the people. The system of government in the Kingdom of Prussia was typical of that in all the States. The *Herrenhaus* in Prussia was composed of about 400 members, the majority of whom were appointed by the King. Since the Lower House could not pass any laws without the consent of the Upper House, the King of Prussia through his representatives controlled absolutely all the legislation. Now even the Lower House was not a democratic body. In Prussia the voters were divided into three classes according to their wealth. Enough voters were put into the first class to make the sum of the taxes paid equal to one-third of the whole tax raised. An additional number were taken to constitute a second third of all the taxes paid. The remaining voters formed the third class. In 2,214 districts in Prussia one man owned enough property to enable him to appoint all the electors of the first class. In 1,703 districts in Prussia two men owned enough property to enable them to appoint all the electors of the first class. To sum up the whole situation, we may say that three per cent. of the voters in Prussia appointed one-third of the electors, and that the second third of the electors were appointed by nine per cent. of the voters; the remaining eighty-eight per cent. of the voters appointed the completing third of the electors.

At the Prussian elections of 1908, a Social Democratic vote, which comprised approximately twenty-four per cent. of the total vote, yielded but seven members in a total of 443.

These facts prove conclusively that local control was wholly out of harmony with the organization of both the Empire and the individual States. The friends of the dual-control system were attempting to find in Germany a democracy, which we see must have been entirely foreign to the whole spirit of the German Government.

The spirit in which the German laws were administered was even

more autocratic than the letter of the law would indicate. The Crown appointed the Ministers. These Ministers were not subject to any legislative body. They were answerable to no one except the King. If the legislative bodies gave an adverse vote to the policy of a Minister, it was not incumbent upon him to resign, as is usual in other States of Europe.

The two elements which counted for most in German administration were wealth and birth. A people which tolerated such government-organization was not likely to enjoy local control in school-matters.

2. *Primary and Higher Education in Prussia*

We regard the point under discussion as of the highest importance. Not until the reader is quite clear as to the structure and working of the administrative laws of Germany can he hope to be in a position to appreciate fully how completely German education was dominated by a bureaucracy. It goes far towards explaining German mentality during the World War. Further, a thorough comprehension of the ancient *régime* will put the reader in the most favourable position for appreciating the changes made by the New Republic.

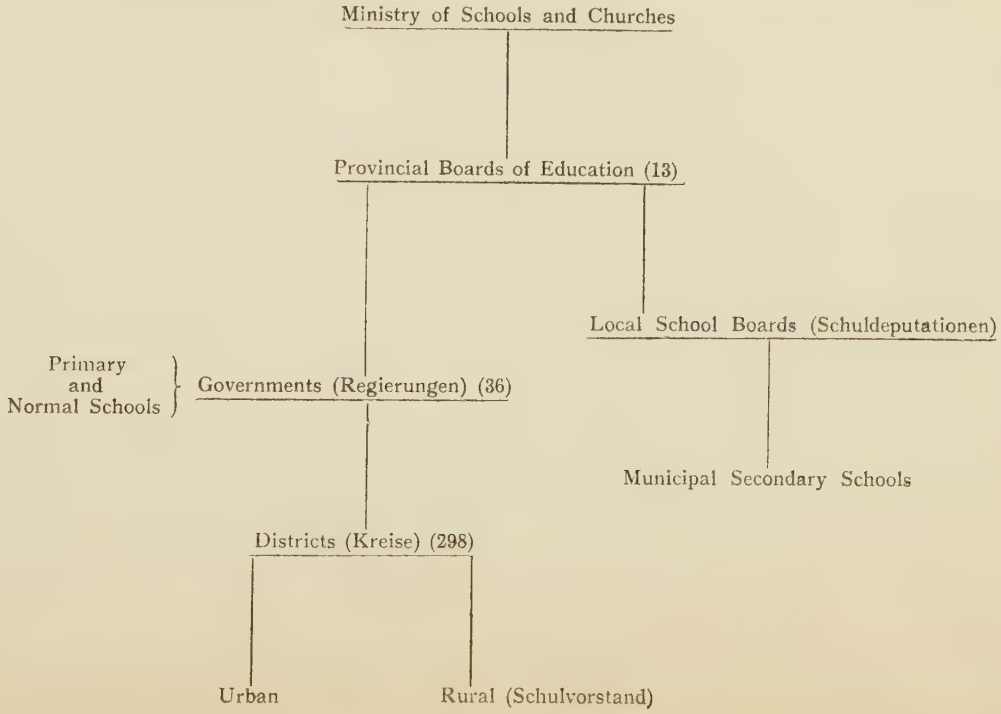
First we submit the scheme of administration of primary and University education as it existed for the State of Prussia.

The Provincial Board of Education was composed of from three to five inspectors nominated by the Minister and confirmed by the King. These inspectors divided amongst themselves the supervision of the various types of Higher Schools and the Normal and Primary Schools. The Board also controlled building-plans, school-ordinances, examinations, text-books and inspection of all schools that gave admittance to the University. The appointment and dismissal of all teachers except the Director was in its hands, and it had complete control over all schools of which the State was whole or part-patron.

There were a large number of municipal Secondary Schools. For these there existed Local School Boards (*Schuldeputationen*), composed of the mayor, a certain number of the town-council and other elected members. But even these committees were under the strictest supervision of the Provincial Board. Their freedom in individual action consisted mainly of making arrangements to construct buildings and to pay taxes. In brief, though they might conduct a better school than the State, they could not have one that was below the minimum State standard.

Under each Provincial Board, there were two or three "governments" (*Regierungen*) which controlled the Primary and Normal Schools, made appointments of the teachers and provided for their training. Each "Government" was composed of six members, two appointed by the King, and four by the Provincial School Board. Each of these "governments" was further-subdivided into districts (*Kreise*). These were two kinds, urban and rural. In the city this commission was composed of the mayor, whose appointment was approved by the King, and three or five members from the city-coun-

DIAGRAM OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRIMARY AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR THE STATE OF PRUSSIA



cil. In rural districts the head of the school-committee (*Schulvorstand*) was known as the *Landrath*, and was assisted by three or five leading citizens. These commissions were responsible for the equipment of the schools, the payment of teachers' salaries, school-attendance and the furthering of local interest in the school.

The reader will note that the Local Authority had many duties, but no real power of initiative in anything.

3. *Industrial and Commercial Education*

Though industrial and commercial education was left largely to the individual States, imperial legislation had a great influence in forwarding it. The main point of this imperial legislation lies in Section 120 of the *Reichsgewerbeordnung*, which provided that the school districts, or communes, may compel boys under the age of eighteen years to attend an Industrial or Commercial School. The same provision could be made to apply to girls of the same age, if they were engaged in commercial or clerical work. Parents who refused to send their children to the school were subject to a fine. Attendance at a guild or other Continuation School did not exempt the pupil from attending the school established under this law, unless the instruction given had been established as at least equal in grade and amount to that offered in the regular school. Employers were obliged to give workers under eighteen years of age the necessary time to attend such schools.

The Table gives the plan of control.

As shown in the Table, the Prussian schools were under the *Landesgewerbeamt*, which was composed of five members appointed by the Minister of Commerce. In addition to these there were twelve extraordinary members. There was also an Advisory Board composed of seventy members, selected from members of the Prussian legislature, mayors of cities, representatives of industry and commerce, Trade School directors, representatives of leading educational and technical organizations, and several other societies.

This larger body met once in two years for a period of several days to discuss all kinds of questions connected with the schools. The questions for discussion were submitted by the Minister of Commerce and Industry. After he got the advice of the Board, he did as he pleased.

The control of the schools was placed under the regular Board of five members who received their appointment from the Minister of Commerce and Industry. The duties of this Board were as follows: To arrange the curriculum and the examinations; to prescribe the methods of instruction; to provide the material necessary for instruction; to appoint the directors and teachers; to prepare plans for the further training of teachers; to supervise the construction of new buildings; and to recommend the budget.

This Board was to keep itself posted as to the capability of the directors and teachers and to report on the efficiency of the school in every detail.

THE PLAN OF CONTROL FOR INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

STATE.	DEPARTMENT OF STATE.	DIVISION OF THIS DEPARTMENT	OFFICER NEXT IN RANK IN CHARGE	LOCAL CONTROL
Prussia	Ministry of Commerce and Industry	A special bureau (*Landesgewerbeamt*)	Government Superintendent (*Regierungs-Präsident*)	Inspectors (*Regierungs-und-Gewerbeschulräte*) (Local Boards)
Bavaria	Ministry of Schools and Churches	(*Kammer des Innern der Kreiseregierung*)	Continuation School Commission	District School Board Trade School Board Trade School Directors
Saxony	Ministry of Interior Ministry of Schools and Churches	——	——	Industrial School Inspector and Commercial School Inspector School Board
Würtemberg	Ministry of Education	Commission of Industrial Education (*Gewerbeoberschulrat*)	Assistant Council (*Beirat*)	Advisory Board
Baden	Ministry of Interior Ministry of Education	A special bureau (*Landesgewerbeamt*)	——	Local Board
Hessen	Ministry of Interior	Trade Bureau	——	Trade School Inspector

There was, then, no local control whatever. This applied to more than three-fourths of all the Commercial and Industrial Continuation Schools in Prussia.

Next let us consider the remaining one-fourth.

There were certain types of Industrial Schools established by guilds and Chambers of Commerce that were controlled by Local Boards. One of the finest of this type was the Commercial School in Berlin. It received no State or municipal aid. All expenses were paid by the Chamber of Commerce. There were several types of Industrial Schools in Berlin, the expenses of which were paid entirely by the guilds. Even these schools were not wholly free from State influence, because the State allowed them to exist only because they were at least equal to, and most generally more advanced than, the ones required by the law.

The remaining fraction of the one-fourth was made up of Guild Schools that did receive some State aid. In such cases the State assumed control, although the Local Board continued as a sort of advisory and honorary body.

Above these Continuation Schools there was another type, called *Fachschulen*. These Trade Schools were intended to train master-workmen and men who expected to be superintendents of factories. Tuition was charged and attendance was voluntary. The course required the full time of the student for a period of two to four years. These schools were open to those who had completed the work of the Continuation Schools, or to those who had had five or six years in a *Realschule*. There were two classes of *Fachschulen*. The State Trade School was controlled by the director and a Board representing the municipality. The law stated expressly that the director was not under this Board. When there was a disagreement, the issue was settled by the Minister. This Board gave advice with reference to new buildings, the arrangement of the curriculum, the appointment of teachers, the amount of the budget, and on any other question that might be submitted by the Minister. The director and the teachers were appointed by the Minister.

Another class of those *Fachschulen* was the Municipality Trade School, which received a State subsidy. Such a school was controlled by a Board of seven members. The mayor of the city, three members appointed by the municipality, and three more appointed by the Minister, constituted the Board. This Board was responsible to the *Landesgewerbeamt*, which had final jurisdiction over the appointment of directors and teachers, the organization and curricula of the schools, the construction of new buildings, and the amount of the budget. Hence we see that local control, beyond giving counsel, found little support even in these higher-class Industrial Schools.

Much the same plan was followed in Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden and Hessen. The local control, indicated in the table above, was confined for the most part to advisory functions only.[1]

[1] For a detailed statement, see Roman, F. W., *Industrial and Commercial* Schools of the United States and Germany, Chap. XIX.

Before the War the German people and even all foreign visitors to these schools were so occupied in admiring the magnificent results, that the question of what might be the effect on the world, and even on the nation itself, of a system of education in which everything was done for the people, and nothing by them, was hardly ever raised.

Chapter II

THE GERMAN SCHOOLS IN 1914

(*a*) The Public Schools (*Volksschulen*)

At the base of the whole gigantic school-system were the "public schools," which were attended in 1900 by 8·9 millions or 90·8 per cent. of all the children between the ages of six and fourteen years.[1] The remaining 9·2 per cent. attended Middle, Higher, and private schools. The Middle and Higher Schools did not form consecutive classes but were parallel with the public schools.

The laws of most of the States required "a moral, religious and patriotic education, and a necessary knowledge and skill for the life of a citizen."

School-attendance for all children between the ages of six and fourteen years was compulsory, and the law was everywhere strictly enforced. Variations from the above requirement were very slight. Bavaria and Würtemberg required only seven years' compulsory attendance; however, the cities of Munich and Nürnberg had raised the requirement to eight years even before the Great War.

In Schleswig-Holstein attendance for girls was required until the fifteenth year, and for boys until the sixteenth. Anhalt also had a nine-year requirement.

The hours spent each week on the various subjects and in the different grades were as shown in the Table:

	Lower Grades		Middle Grades		Upper Grades	
	Schools with one teacher	Schools with more than one teacher	Schools with one teacher	Schools with more than one teacher	Schools with one teacher	Schools with more than one teacher
Religion ...	4	4	5–6	4	5–6	4
German ...	11	11	9–10	8	7–8	8
Arithmetic ...	4	4	4	4	5	6
Drawing ...	—	—	1	2	2	2
Nature Study.	—	—	6	6	6	6 (8)
Singing ...	1	1	1	2	2	2
Gymnasium / Handwork	—	2	2	2	2	2
Total ...	20	22	30	28	31	30 (32)

[1] For a detailed statement of the whole Primary School system as it existed before the World War, see Tews, J., *Grundzüge der deutschen Schulgesetzgebung*, 1913.

The above Table does not take into account the recent introduction of instruction in cooking for girls. Such instruction was given in the last grade in 161 cities during the year 1910, the average time devoted to such classes being four hours a week. In the boys' schools, manual training sometimes formed a part of the curriculum.

The number of school-weeks in the year, the number of hours for each grade, and the subjects pursued by the various grades varied slightly in the different States; also there were some differences in these respects to be noted even in the same State, when a comparison was made between the city and the village-schools. School was in session forty to forty-two weeks in the year, and the number of school-hours in the week ranged from twenty to twenty-two in the lower grades and averaged about thirty in the upper grades.

As a rule the sexes were taught separately. However, in communities where the Catholic and Protestant religions were both represented it was thought more important to separate the children on the basis of religious affiliation, even if by so doing it became necessary to establish co-educational schools because of the small number in attendance.

Corporal punishment was allowed by law, though the statement always followed that its use was to be regarded as exceptional. Teachers were warned against injuring the child. Many teachers prided themselves on never resorting to corporal punishment. On the other hand many confessed then, and others state quite frankly to-day, that pupils cannot be well-taught unless the teacher has the right to use a strap. Its use may be rare, but the pupils must realize the possibility of its service being real.

There is no doubt that the German school erred on the side of being too strict. The teachers had too much power over the children. Some abused it. Life was turned into a state of misery for some children, and child-suicide was a phenomenon which resulted from German school-efficiency.

The school-law of none of the States provided free text-books. These were to be provided by the parents and guardians. However, in cases of poverty, the school-commissions were required to supply them.

School-hygiene emphasized for the most part the size and interior-arrangements of the school-room. Schools in the cities were generally well-provided with baths. Each child had a bath once a week at school. An exact record was kept. This weekly official bath had a tremendous effect in raising the standard of life among the people. It was reflected in clean streets and improved building-plans. It was showing itself in improved morals. Of course, the army, as is the case in all countries, was a constant influence in just the opposite direction.

School-doctors were attached to nearly all schools, but not always in full-time employment. They examined the children and made recommendations. Parents were always free to choose their family-physician. The school-doctor alone was authorized to grant permission for absence from school on account of illness.

Parents and guardians did have the right to send their children to private schools, or to have them taught at home. Very little use was made of this privilege, however, since it had to be shown that the children sent to a private school were receiving the same instruction as was being given in the public school, and the private teachers had to hold the same qualifications as the public school teachers. Also, the children were required to pass the same examinations. This law was strictly carried-out. The German thoroughness in teaching and efficiency in the execution of the laws account for the lowest percentage of illiteracy in the world. Before the War it was ·05 per cent.

The accuracy of German school-statistics[1] makes it possible to get a definite idea of the degree of knowledge possessed by the people.

In 1907 the public schools of Chemnitz, one of the leading manufacturing cities in Germany, could show that:

More than 94% completed the sixth grade.
,, ,, 76% ,, ,, seventh grade.
,, ,, 50% ,, ,, eighth grade.

The following table shows the numbers in the grades in Chemnitz in 1913:—

	Discharged					Enrolled
Grade	VIII	VII	VI	V	Total	First Grade.
Boys ...	1,497	623	281	66	2,467	3,113
Girls ...	1,806	660	249	68	2,783	3,156
Total ...	3,303	1,283	530	134	5,250	6,269

Now about 57 per cent. of the boys and 65 per cent. of the girls actually completed the eight grades.

According to the figures for 1907, 62 per cent. of all the children of Munich that entered the public schools in the first grade completed at least seven grades before leaving school.

The figures for Berlin, according to the official report for 1908, showed that the following percentage of those who entered the first grade had completed the grades below specified before leaving school:

Grade	1908	1907	1905
VIII	43·32%	41·02%	37·06%
VII	28·99	29·88	30·36
VI	16·09	17·67	19·68

[1] Very complete school-statistics are given by Emil Schwartz, in his *Organisation und Unterrichtserfolge der städtischen Volksschulen in Deutschland.*

According to this analysis 88·04 per cent. of the pupils of fourteen years of age had completed six grades of schooling, 72·31 per cent., seven grades of schooling, and 43·32 per cent., eight grades of schooling.

The table below shows the grades and promotions in 1913:

Pupils Discharged after having completed Eight Years of Obligatory School Attendance

Grade	1912	1911	1909	1907	1905
VIII ...	12,504	12,366	11,155	10,020	9,028
VII ...	6,653	6,910	6,966	7,301	7,395
VI ...	3,408	3,662	3,758	4,317	4,794
V ...	1,358	1,356	1,397	1,862	2,093
IV ...	287	365	332	569	754
III-I ...	47	56	57	84	119
Classes for backward pupils	454	408	323	277	178
Total ...	24,711	25,123	23,988	24,430	24,361

The Same in terms of Percentage

Grade	1912	1911	1909	1907	1905
VIII ...	50·60	49·22	46·50	41·02	37·06
VII ...	26·92	27·51	29·04	29·88	30·36
VI ...	13·79	14·58	15·67	17·67	19·68
V ...	5·49	5·49	5·82	7·62	8·59
IV ...	1·16	1·45	1·38	2·33	3·09
III-I ...	0·20	0·22	0·24	0·34	0·49
Classes for backward pupils	1·84	1·62	1·35	1·14	0·73

The Following Figures give the Percentage of the Pupils that were Promoted from One Grade to the Next

Grade	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
I	86·9	89·82	89·93	90·22	91·00	90·35	90·89
II	87·4	88·95	89·32	89·70	89·59	89·03	89·39
III	86·3	87·82	88·32	89·21	88·80	88·46	88·67
IV	84·2	87·79	87·56	88·01	88·77	88·32	88·26
V	85·9	88·39	88·23	89·64	89·00	88·83	89·11
VI	85·1	86·76	87·17	88·15	88·70	87·96	87·76
VII	78·6	83·45	83·57	85·03	85·37	84·29	85·15
Average	85·4	87·88	88·27	88·78	88·94	88·38	88·64

Thus we note that in 1905, 37·06 per cent., in 1908, 43·32 per cent., and in 1913, 50·6 per cent. completed eight grades. The improvement in all other grades is similar, as is borne out by the latter part of the table.

(*b*) Continuation Schools

1. *Laws*

The most important legal measures for Industrial and Commercial Continuation Schools are found in the *Gewerbeordnung* of 1869. Later these were embodied in the laws of the Empire. The chief regulations were as follows:

"Article 120. Employers are obliged to grant the necessary time to all their employees, under eighteen years of age, who may be subject to attendance upon a local or State Continuation School. Instruction may be given only at such hours on Sunday as will not interfere with the main church service. . . .

"Institutions for domestic science shall also be considered as coming under the above regulations.

"Compulsory attendance upon a Continuation School may be established by an ordinance of the community or local guild, for boys under eighteen years of age and for girls under the same age if engaged in commercial pursuits. This regulation obtains in so far as compulsory attendance does not already exist by virtue of the State law."

By the law of the Empire dated November 27th, 1911, the obligation of compulsory attendance had been extended to apply to girls engaged in industry as well. In order that regular attendance on the part of the pupils might be assured and the necessary co-operation of the parents enlisted, additional ordinances might be drafted by either the community or the guild. Pupils were excused from attendance upon a Continuation School, founded by Statute, if they were in attendance

upon a Guild School or other Trade School whose curriculum had been credited by the Local Authorities as being of equal value.

" Article 81 b. Guilds are granted the special privilege of establishing institutions for advancing the industrial, technical, and moral development of master-workmen, journeymen and apprentices. The right to support and supervise these schools falls likewise within their province.

" Article 103 e. Abs. 3. The chambers of trade are empowered to erect and support institutions for the advancement of the industrial, technical and moral development of master-workmen, journeymen and apprentices.

" Article 127. The master is obliged to keep the apprentice in attendance and to watch over him. He must give the apprentice ample time and opportunity to attend church-service on Sundays and holidays.

" Article 127 b. After the period of probation the apprentice may be dismissed before the term of his apprenticeship expires if he neglects his school-attendance.

" Article 139. Commercial Schools established by the State or community under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the regulations that have already been cited for the Industrial Schools. Merchants shall keep all helpers and apprentices under eighteen years of age in attendance upon the same. . . ."

In addition to this imperial legislation, which confers the right only upon the municipality to establish compulsory attendance, the several States had rapidly developed on their own account legislation which had for its goal the establishment of compulsory attendance at the Continuation Schools in the case of all boys and girls, whether they were engaged in commerce or industry or not.

In Würtemberg the law of 1906 required that each community that had forty male workers under eighteen years of age, who were engaged in industrial or commercial work, must establish an Industrial Continuation School. (Trade or Business School.)

When once such a school had been established it could not be closed until the number of pupils had been reduced below thirty, and even then the community might continue such a school.

Special Commercial Schools would be established when the number of pupils made such a separation possible. After reviewing the tables given later we shall reach the conclusion that the number of Commercial Schools was still relatively small. The duration of the instruction covered a period of three years of forty weeks each, totalling not less than 280 hours per year.

For Baden compulsory attendance at Continuation Schools was introduced by the enactment of the law of 1874. Boys were required to attend for two years, girls for one year. The number of hours devoted to instruction was two weekly, throughout the year. However, in special cases, the instruction might be confined to the winter-months, three hours per week instead of two being the assigned number in such instances.

The law of 1898 provided that all boys engaged in industry, who

were not excused from attendance at the Continuation Schools, should attend an Industrial or Commercial Continuation School until they were 17 years of age.

In 1902 these legal provisions were extended to apply to the girls engaged in industry.

The law of 1904 provided that the attendance upon an Industrial and Commercial Continuation School might, through local ordinance, be made compulsory for those under eighteen years of age irrespective of sex.

The majority of the schools required an attendance of eight hours per week.

In the Kingdom of Saxony the law of 1873 provided that all boys who had passed the " common school " age must attend a General Continuation School for a period of three years. Furthermore, it empowered the community to extend the same law so that it should affect in like manner the girls.

The number of weeks per year during which the school was to be in session depended largely upon the number of hours per week set apart for instruction. About half the schools were in session two hours per week; the great majority of the remainder offered their facilities for four hours; and a small number gave instruction for five hours.

Communities, guilds, etc., might organize Industrial and Commercial Continuation Schools. Attendance at these schools exempted the pupil from enrolment in the above-named class; hence it may be said that the latter enjoyed a sort of indirect obligatory provision.

Energetic measures were drafted for Prussia in 1874 for the support of the Continuation School system. Accordingly the State paid one-half of all the expenses, besides expenditure for rooms, heat and light. This obligation was assumed by the State on the condition that attendance be made compulsory, and that the work was being done according to an approved curriculum.

2. *Enrolment*

The high enrolment and regularity of attendance at Continuation Schools for the last twenty years has evoked the wonder and admiration of the world.

In 1906 there were in Würtemberg 176 Sunday Schools exclusively for boys, and 269 attended by both sexes. Of the General Continuation Schools there were 1,967 reserved for boys, and 156 to which both sexes were eligible. There were 152 Industrial Continuation Schools, with an enrolment of 19,319 pupils. In 1907 there were 153 Industrial Continuation Schools, with an enrolment of 20,873 pupils. Of this number thirty-eight provided for obligatory attendance, and had an enrolment of 3,912 pupils.

In 1906 Baden had 1,636 General Continuation Schools, enrolling about 5,000 pupils. In that same year there were 127 Industrial Continuation Schools, enrolling 2,515 pupils and 120 guest-pupils; also, 52 Trade Schools, enrolling 10,168 boys, 50 girls, and 2,170 guest-pupils.

The rapid rise in both the number of schools and attendance is seen in the case of Prussia.

INDUSTRIAL CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

	COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE		VOLUNTARY ATTENDANCE		TOTAL	
	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils
1882	335	32,558	288	24,526	623	57,084
1895	472	56,147	289	44,270	761	100,417
1905–6	1,301	202,669	94	23,905	1,395	226,574

The reader notes that we are not attempting to give a complete statement for each German State. Our interest lies merely in getting a fairly accurate picture of the situation as a whole as it existed before the Great War.

In this connection attention must be called to the great advance that had already been made in the provisions for the industrial and commercial education of women and girls.[1]

In 1908 there were 323 public Commercial Schools for girls in the whole Empire. This does not include an almost equal number of private schools.

The idea was rapidly gaining ground that girls should be afforded the same educational opportunities as boys.

Besides the Continuation School movement there remains the large number of Trade Schools to be noticed. In 1910 Prussia had twenty-five schools for the building-trades, which enrolled about 6,000 students. At about the same time the enrolment in schools for metal-workers was more than 3,000. Besides, there were schools for pottery and all the various textile-trades. These also enrolled thousands of students.

The twenty-six Textile Schools of Saxony were famous throughout the world. This is evident from their enrolment from other German States and foreign nations. Their growth and development is shown by the following:

	1884	1904
Number of pupils	1,701	2,543
In the day-schools	220	436
In the night-schools	1,481	2,107
From Saxony	1,599	2,442
From other German States ...	62	37
From foreign countries	40	64

[1] For a detailed statement, see Roman, F. W., *Industrial and Commercial Schools of the United States and Germany*, Chap. V.

In addition, Saxony had more than one-hundred other Industrial Schools, carrying an enrolment of more than ten-thousand students.

Probably enough material has been presented to illustrate fully what education meant in Germany in the last days of the Empire.

(*c*) Secondary Schools

1. *For Boys*

The German Secondary School system may be considered from the standpoint of the length of the courses. There are nine years' schools, and the six years' schools, of each of which there are three types.

Put briefly the classification is thus:

(*a*) Schools with a full course of nine years—

1. *Gymnasien*, which teach Latin and Greek.
2. *Realgymnasien*, which teach Latin, but not Greek.
3. *Oberrealschulen*, which teach neither Latin nor Greek.

(*b*) Schools with a course of six years—

1. *Progymnasien*, which teach Latin and Greek.
2. *Realprogymnasien*, which teach Latin, but not Greek.
3. *Realschulen*, which teach neither Latin nor Greek.

The latter class of schools simply complete the first six years' course of the former class.

It was necessary to complete at least six years of secondary education in order to be allowed to volunteer for the one-year military service. All who fell below this standard were obliged to serve the two years, just as those who came from the *Volksschulen*. In other words, the ability of the boy to pass successfully six years of secondary schooling meant his admission into the future higher and ruling class. The army-officers were all taken from this group. Families felt it to be a terrible disgrace to have a son who failed to reach this standard. The social distinction between a brother who passed and one who failed was sharply-drawn. In this sense German militarism gave a kind of "hot house" stimulus to higher education.

We give the curriculum of each type of school below. The course begins when the boy is nine years of age. Before the War these courses were preceded by three years at a Preparatory School (*Vorschule*) which was attached to the Secondary School. These are to be abolished completely.[1]

The forms or grades are named as follows:—*Sexta* (sixth), *Quinta* (fifth), *Quarta* (fourth), *Unter-Tertia* (lower third), *Ober-Tertia* (upper third), *Unter-Sekunda* (lower second), *Ober-Sekunda* (upper second), *Unter-Prima* (lower first), *Ober-Prima* (upper first). In the six years' schools the forms are simply Sexta, Quinta, Quarta, Tertia, Sekunda, Prima, again, of course counting from the bottom upwards.

[1] See pp. 186-7.

The recitations last fifty minutes. The tables do not include home-work. The brackets indicate that the lessons may be redistributed from time to time between the subjects enclosed in the brackets.

GYMNASIEN

	VI	V	IV	III B	III A	II B	II A	I B	I A
Religion	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mother-tongue and Historical Narration	3 1 } 4	2 1 } 3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3
Latin	8	8	8	8	8	7	7 6 } 13	7 6 } 13	7 6 } 13
Greek	—	—	—	6	6	6			
French	—	—	4	2	2	3	3	3	3
History	—	—	2	2	2	2 1 } 3	3	3	3
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		—	—	—
Mathematics ...	4	4	4	3	3	4 2 } 6	4 2 } 6	4 2 } 6	4 2 } 6
Natural Science ...	2	2	2	2	2				
Writing	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drawing	—	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—
Total	25	25	29	30	30	30	30	30	30
Physical Training...	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Singing	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

REALGYMNASIEN

	VI	V	IV	III B	III A	II B	II A	I B	I A
Religion	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mother-tongue and Historical Narration	3 1 } 4	2 1 } 3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Latin	8	8	7	5	5	4	4	4	4
French	—	—	5	4	4	4	4	4	4
English	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3
History	—	—	2	2	2	2	3	3	3
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	1	—	—	—
Mathematics ...	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
Natural Science ...	2	2	2	2	2	4	5	5	5
Writing	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drawing	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	25	25	29	30	30	30	31	31	31
Physical Training...	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Singing	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

OBERREALSCHULEN

	VI	V	IV	III B	IIIA	II B	II A	I B	I A
Religion	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mother-tongue and Historical Narration	4 } 5 1 }	3 } 4 1 }	4	3	3	3	4	4	4
French	6	6	6	6	6	5 } 9	4 } 8	4 } 8	4 } 8
English	—	—	—	5	4	4 }	4 }	4 }	4 }
History	—	—	3	2	2	2	3	3	3
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Mathematics ...	5	5	6	6	5	5	5	5	5
Natural Science ...	2	2	2	2	4	6	6	6	6
Writing	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Freehand Drawing..	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	25	25	29	30	30	30	31	31	31
Physical Training...	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Singing	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

"In 1902, we learn from Lexis, there were in all the Higher Schools of Germany 301,887 boys, of whom 174,467 were in Prussia. They were distributed as follows: in the *Gymnasien* 144,673 boys, and in the *Progymnasien* 9,007; in the *Realgymnasien* 39,077, and in the *Realprogymnasien* 3,418; in the *Oberrealschulen* 31,707, and in the *Realschulen* 74,005. Prof. Sadler states (Essex Report, p. 7) that in Prussia in 1900 (population 34,472,509) the proportion of boys attending the Higher Schools, all over nine years, was 5·44 per 1,000 of the whole population. About the same time there were probably about 170,000 boys in nominal receipt of secondary instruction in England, out of a population of, say, 35,000,000. The only difference was that every Prussian boy was receiving a real, efficient secondary education, at the hands of fully qualified teachers, and staying in two cases out of three, to the age of sixteen or seventeen, in the third to the age of eighteen or twenty; whereas most of the English boys were being badly taught by unqualified teachers in schools which, even when they were not private academies, gave rather elementary than secondary instruction, and nearly all English boys left school long before they were sixteen. In Prussia secondary education is a guaranteed, standardized article; in England it is still for the most part, *verbum et praeterea nihil.*"[1]

In 1908 the number of boys in the Higher Schools for the Empire had risen to 372,461.[2]

[1] Norwood and Hope, *Higher Education of Boys in England*, p. 123.

[2] For complete statistics, see Knabe, K., *Das deutsche Unterrichtswesen der Gegenwart.*

The table shows the number and types of schools in the leading States in 1908.

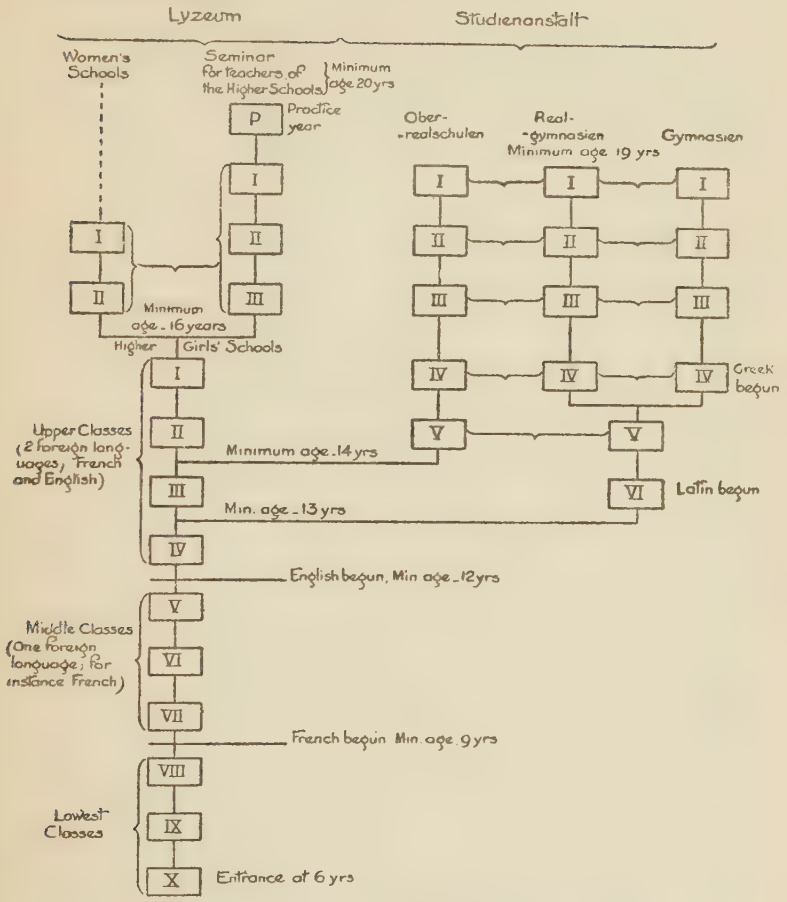
States.	Gymnasien	Realgymnasien	Oberrealschulen	Progymnasien	Realprogymnasien	Realschulen	Other Institutions	Private Institutions
Prussia ...	325	95	53	39	43	156	16	20
Bavaria ...	46	5	9	31	—	46	4	8
Saxony ...	19	13	—	—	4	33	6	6
Würtemberg	18	4	10	4	7	20	—	2
Baden ...	17	5	8	1	8	29	1	1
Hessen ...	11	3	5	3	—	15	1	1
Total ...	436	125	85	78	62	299	28	38
Other States	68	21	14	6	11	48	4	18
Total ...	504	146	99	84	73	347	32	56

German education was organized magnificently, and it did result in the acquisition of a high standard of knowledge. From the American point of view, it lacked democracy, was too much concerned about class-feeling, and was too inelastic.

2. *For Girls*

Higher education for girls is of recent origin. In 1872 the Prussian State made the first provisions for a ten-year course to begin at the age of six years. In 1894 it was made possible to extend the courses so that they were practically equal both in quality and quantity to those of the boys' schools. In 1908 Prussia reorganized the whole system for girls. It has some very noteworthy features that might serve as a model for the reform of education for boys, not only in Germany but in England and France as well. It has only one objectionable feature. The tuition is not free. However the German Republic will succeed finally in removing this financial barrier.

The plan is given.



The reader is asked to note that the study of Latin does not begin until the thirteenth year, while that of Greek is delayed until the fifteenth. These subjects are not required, however, for University entrance.

The general course continues up to sixteen for those who do not proceed to the Universities. At that age one branch leads to the preparation for the teaching-profession, and the other to vocational courses.

In Prussia in 1908 there were 302 public Higher Schools and 346 private Higher Schools for girls.

In the whole of Germany there were 464 public and 666 private institutions. It must be understood, however, that not all schools, especially the private ones, really merited the rank of Higher Schools.

Some of the faults that were noted in connection with the boys' schools showed genuine signs of disappearing in the girls' schools, even before the Great War. Democracy was asserting itself in Germany in spite of the bureaucratic government and the reign of militarism. An advanced industrial State was leading to an uprising and final revolution within, that would certainly have crystallized, even if it had never been aided by the crushing defeat which the Empire suffered at the hands of the Allies.

Chapter III

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

As late as the year 1800 Germany counted more than three-hundred States. Some were under civil, others under clerical Princes. A certain number were governed by an aristocracy, and finally a still smaller number found the ruling power invested in the people themselves.

The German Union (*Der deutsche Bund*, 1815-66) consisted of thirty-nine loosely-federated States. This was replaced in 1871 by the *Bundesstaat* which formed the German Empire. The number of States was reduced to twenty-six. At that time the States lost much of their individual character. There was no uniformity in the concessions made to the Empire.

The Empire still exists, but its Constitution[1] has been changed. The Revolution of November 9th, 1918, did not alter the federal basis of the Empire. The Revolution arose not only in Berlin but also in the other chief cities of the several States. This was followed by a Provisional Government for the Empire and also a Provisional Government for each of the several States.

The National Assembly was convened on February 6th, 1919, and on the 10th of the same month it declared a provisional constitution to be the law of the land. On the 11th of August of the same year the present Constitution was adopted which proclaimed that the German Empire was a Republic.

The power of the State arises from the people. The national colours are black-red-gold. The Republic holds the exclusive right to legislate for foreign relations, colonial affairs, citizenship, immigration and emigration, military affairs, coinage, tariff, and the post and telegraph-systems. The several States are free to legislate provided their acts do not contradict the laws of the Republic.

First in the rank of power stands the *Reichstag*. This is quite different from the one stablished by the Constitution of 1871. Then the *Bundesrat* held the balance of power.[2] The *Reichstag* is formed by representatives of the people. It is constituted of one Chamber only. There is no Upper and Lower House, as is the case in America,

[1] Anschütz, Gerard, *Die Verfassung des deutschen Reiches von 11 August*, 1919. This volume contains the new Constitution with full comments thereon. For a detailed explanation of the philosophy underlying the provisions of the new Constitution the reader is referred to a large volume under the title *Deutsche Staatsbürgerkunde*, by Adolf Bauer.

[2] See p. 158. Formerly the *Reichstag* was a huge debating-society with no serious functions.

England and France. The members are elected on the principle of universal and secret suffrage for all men and women in the land who have attained the age of twenty years. The election-day must be put on a Sunday or some public holiday. The country is divided into thirty-five election-districts. For every 60,000 voters there is one representative in the *Reichstag*. Members must have attained the age of twenty-five years. They are elected for a period of four years. Once elected a member represents his conscience only, and not a party, nor an election-district nor an organization.

The chief official is the President of the Republic. He is elected by the whole people. His term of office is seven years, and he may be re-elected. He must have attained the age of thirty-five years. His tasks deal with the proclaiming and execution of the laws, but not with their making. In case of need he is authorized to call armed intervention to his aid.

The parliamentary functioning of the *Reichstag* is carried on through a Cabinet of Ministers, headed by the Chancellor of the Republic. It is usually expected that all of these should be members of the *Reichstag*, though this is not absolutely necessary.[1]

The Chancellor outlines the policy of the Cabinet. He is at all times responsible to the *Reichstag*. A vote of lack of confidence puts him under the necessity of offering his resignation. In that case the President of the Republic seeks another who can form a Government that can secure the necessary vote of confidence.

There is a second body known as the *Reichsrat* which exercises a constant supervision over all new national legislation. It is composed of sixty-three members. Each State has one member at least. Prussia has twenty-five. This body enjoys a sort of veto-power. However, the veto can be set aside by a two-thirds vote of the *Reichstag*. In that case the President of the Republic either proclaims the new law or orders a national referendum on the issue.

There are 469 members in the *Reichstag*. We give below the names of the political parties and their membership.[2] The grouping begins with the party of the most extreme Right and then proceeds towards the most extreme Left:

German Nationalists	71
People's Party	65
Democrats	40
Centre	68
Majority Socialists	108
Independent Socialists	61
Communists	26

[1] After the fall of the Wirth Ministry in November, 1922, President Ebert called Herr Cuno, head of the Hamburg-American Line, to form a Cabinet. In other countries cases are frequent where a non-member of Parliament is asked to sit in the Cabinet. The attempt, however, to select a Chancellor out of civil life sets a new record in political daring. The eyes of the world will watch the experiment with interest and even anxiety.

[2] This represents the showing from 1920 to the present date (1923).

To these must be added the following:

Bavarian Peoples' Party	21
Bavarian Peasants' Union	4
The Hanoverian Land Party (Guelfs)	5

The German Nationalists represent the former Conservative Party. It is composed of the owners of the large estates, the *Junkers*, as they were formerly called. Also nearly all members of the princely families and the former aristocracy belong to this group. They announce openly their allegiance to the Hohenzollern, and to the restoration of the monarchy.

The Peoples' Party presumably accepts the Republic, but is convinced and expects that, in some good day, the monarchy will be restored. It is recruited largely from the former Liberal Party. It has in its ranks the rich commercial classes, of whom many are Jews and University professors and teachers of the Secondary Schools.

The Democratic Party may be said to be a distinct creation of the War. It is recruited largely from those who left the old Conservative and Liberal Parties, and is composed to a great extent of the smaller commercial classes, the teachers in the public schools (*Volksschulen*) and idealists of various shades. It approves the restoration of what was, and is not exactly satisfied with what is. In general, it favours private ownership of property, opposes socialism and desires a reasonable peace with other nations. Some of the members of this party seem to hope that some kind of constitutional monarchy may be restored, but not necessarily from the Hohenzollern line.

The Centre group has two divisions, one for the rich, and the other for the poor. They are in full agreement on all questions pertaining to religion and education. The point is of the first importance for a later discussion in this thesis. There are strong lines of cleavage between these two groups on all questions of taxation, and economic adjustments of every kind. Their quarrels are carried-through to the bitter end. Nothing holds them together except Rome. Both divisions are strongly for the Republic. If a monarchy is eventually restored in Germany, and especially in Prussia, it will almost certainly be from a Protestant House; hence the Catholics have more to gain by keeping Germany a Republic.

The next group is the Majority Socialists. Their principles are well-known to the world. First and foremost they favour the Republic. The Independent Socialists have the same theoretical ideas as the Majority Socialists. The difference between them lies in that the former insist on carrying-out their ideas now, whereas the latter are willing to compromise with the Centre and Democrats for the sake of getting "half a loaf rather than no bread at all."

The Independent Socialists are the frankest about admitting Germany's guilt in bringing on the War.

Finally we come to the Communist group. Their programme is quite simple. "Destroy all that is, and build the world up again from the start." Russia is their shining example.

The Bavarian Peoples' Party is also a monarchial party. They favour the restoration of the House of Wittelsbach, headed by Prince Ruprecht. They hope even that all Germany may be induced to accept the leadership of the Bavarian House. Failing that, the hope is high that an independent State may be formed out of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden and Austria. Monarchical uprisings have been imminent ever since the founding of the Republic.

The Bavarian Peasant Union is an exceedingly clerically-minded group. Its concern is mostly with religious and school questions. On economic and political issues they are in full agreement with the Bavarian Peoples' Party.

Finally, there are the Guelfs. The War did a great deal to raise everybody's hopes. This group cherishes the idea that with the aid of Great Britain some English Prince may be put over Germany. That would only be recognizing the old Hanoverian House. It is most interesting to hear the partisans of this view calculate what possibilities there are in future European politics that could bring about such a result. The War destroyed much, but imagination here seems to have run riot.

The reader is now clear as to the organization of the Republic, and the principles that dominate the various political parties. We are now prepared to hear what the Constitution has to say about the two questions that concern our thesis, religion and education.

Articles 135 to 150 grant the free exercise of conscience in all religious matters. No one may be coerced into any church transaction or festivity of any kind. There is no State Church. Free assembly for religious purposes is guaranteed. Sundays and State holidays are considered days of rest.

Those who are familiar with what obtained before the War in the domain of religious practice, realize that the above changes are enormous in theory at least. As a matter of fact tradition plays a powerful rôle in Germany, hence teachers are not nearly so free even now as the reader might be led to suppose from the mere perusal of the above constitutional provisions. Religion is still regarded as a regular branch of the school, with the exception of the Undenominational (*Weltliche*) School, and remains a compulsory subject for the schools although not for the individual teacher or pupil.[1]

The German Nationalists and Catholics are exerting their energy in an effort to keep the old-time dictation on religious questions as intact as possible. As we shall note later, the National School legislation, and that of the several States, has been held up for over two years, mainly because no agreement could be reached as to the provisions that should be made for religious instruction. Naturally, it was the hope of the Socialists that the regular type of school would include no religious instruction. The Denominational School (*Konfessionelleschule*) was to be the exception. The Centre Party, and all others of the Right hope that the Denominational School

[1] This provision works most unfortunately. See pp. 201-6.

might be the rule, and a school without religious instruction the exception. In February, 1922, the Socialists came forward in the *Reichstag* with a compromise-proposition known as the *Simultanschule*.[1] The issue is still unsettled. The prospects of German soil witnessing a *Kultur-Kampf* for many decades are good.

Section 142 proclaims that art and science and their teaching are free. The State assures them protection, and participates in their encouragement.

Section 143 gives all teachers in all public schools the rights and duties of officers of the State.[2]

Section 144 puts all school-supervision under the State, and under professionally-trained men. This is another great advance. It gets rid of the clergy. In the country-districts and in all schools of less than six teachers, it was quite customary to have inspection by the clergy. They knew little about pedagogy, and often not too much about the real needs of modern life. They were rarely of any great help and often a constant source of annoyance to the really serious-minded teacher.

Section 145 establishes compulsory school-attendance for a period of at least eight years, which must be followed by a Continuation School attendance until the completed eighteenth year. Instruction and school materials are free in both the Elementary and Continuation Schools. Up to the present (1923) it has not been possible to carry out the Continuation School provision throughout Germany. Fifteen German States have already put all children between fourteen and eighteen years into Continuation Schools, and the same is true of at least 40 per cent. of all the children in Prussia. It will soon be universal in spite of Germany's poverty. So often German school-men and administrators told the writer, "We have nothing now except ourselves. We could not afford to keep the children out of school. It is the last hope of our country." Further, it has not yet been possible to furnish free school-supplies in all places. However, the requirement is written plainly in the Constitution. German law means performance. It will be done. No one need doubt that.

Section 146 states that "the public school system is to be organized as an organic whole. The Middle and Higher Schools are to be extensions of a common school (*Grundschule*)." The acceptance of a child in the Middle or Higher Schools is to be decided by the future occupation of the child, and its own inclinations and talents, rather than by the social or economic position of its parents. The article makes further provision that the Empire, provinces and communes

[1] See p. 203.

[2] This clause freed fully a considerable number of teachers from domination by the Church. In the country-districts in Bavaria and Saxony the teacher was obliged to take the duties of church-organist and, in the case of the Catholic Church, of assistant to the priest in the Mass. The priest and pastor enjoyed showing the people of the congregation that they could still control the school-teachers even if the parishioners were indifferent to their commands.

In actual practice those teachers are not fully free now. Tradition still binds them. See p. 189

may vote public money to aid poor parents in defraying the expenses of sending their children to the Middle and Higher Schools, provided these children can show ability to profit thereby.

The German Constitution will make its greatest appeal to the foreigner by the provisions of Section 148. "A moral education, a sense of responsibility to the State, personal and professional integrity in the spirit of German nationality, and a reconciliation with the nations, are *to be set as the goal* in all schools.

"Instruction in citizenship and training in manual labour are branches of instruction in all the schools. Each pupil receives at the close of his school-life a copy of the Constitution.

"A system of popular education, including the peoples' High Schools (*Volkshochschulen*), are to be fostered by the Empire, States and local communities."

The Germans may have been war-like in the past. That they were so since 1871 seems to admit of no doubt whatever. It is evident that there has come a great change in Germany. The section in the Constitution which we have just cited supports this contention. The German schools are to teach international reconciliation (*Völkerversöhnung*). The volume containing such idealism is to be made a gift by the State to each child at the age of fourteen years!

The first elections gave the Socialists a majority sufficiently large to form a Government. The second elections increased the representatives of the parties of the Right. From the parliamentary representation shown above the Socialists could rule only by combining with the Centre. Here we have the key to all the school-discussion that is going on in Germany. It has given us a series of complex and confused promises. Unless the reader can keep in mind a fairly clear conception of the economic, political and religious philosophies of the various parties, he cannot hope to understand much about the educational system of the present German Republic.

As is well-known the Socialists always have two leading points in their programme—an economic policy and an educational doctrine. Now the Catholics have an educational doctrine, and a policy which makes everything else always subservient to an exclusive rulership, if that can be obtained. The Socialists are not strong enough to carry-out their whole programme, hence something must be sacrificed. If our Socialist must make a choice between sacrificing his economic ideas and sacrificing his views on education, it is on the latter point that he will yield first, because he believes that if he can get the world organized on his economic basis eventually he will get everything else. For him all cultural and spiritual activity of every kind is the outcome of economic conditions. Our Catholic friend, however, takes just the opposite point of view. He intends to keep his hold on the children no matter what else happens. This explains, then, the present combination in Germany. All the legislation of every class and kind shows these great compromises, especially on school-questions. The Socialist takes the economic end of the stick and the

Catholic the cultural, and each believes that finally he will be able to beat the other fellow out of his entire possessions.

Finally, the Independent Socialists in 1921 refused to co-operate with and concede to the Centre Party demands. The Majority Socialists and the Centre were not strong enough to form a Government unless they took in the Democratic Party. This demanded concessions on economic lines. For the year 1921, until the murder of Herr Rathenau, this combination held power. That tragedy seems to have so imperilled the existence of the Republic that the Independent Socialists were once more induced to come to the aid of the Government. Most of the Communist members joined also.

In November, 1922, the affairs of the Republic declined to such a degree that Chancellor Wirth felt obliged to take certain members of the Peoples' Party into the Government. This meant very wide concessions on the part of the Socialists. They refused to accede to his wishes.

As a result, he and his Cabinet were forced to resign. After many days President Ebert appointed as Chancellor, Herr Cuno, Director of the Hamburg-American Line. He is not a member of the Parliament, and that fact alone is quite indicative of the extremely chaotic conditions that now obtain in Germany. Herr Cuno is a member of the Peoples' Party. Since the hour of his appointment up to the present time of writing (March, 1923) he has been supported by all groups except the Communists. However, the degree of support varies. One may say that his policies are endorsed without reserve by the Nationalists and Peoples' Party. The support of the Centre Party may be described as benevolent, whereas the Socialists and Democrats support him with considerable misgiving. The most representative opinion of the leaders of the Left still indicates a strong belief that the Republic will live. In these days of political storm, however, no one is warranted in predicting what will happen in Germany three days hence. As is natural, all school-legislation shares the uncertainty that is attendant upon a precarious Government.

Chapter IV

CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

(*a*) Administration and Organization

1. *Prussia*

Each State still retains the right to pass detailed legislation, which must always conform to the general principles laid down by the Constitution. The reader has already noted that the German Constitution separated School and Church entirely.

In accordance with this provision, Prussia has no longer a Minister of Schools and Churches. He is now called Minister of Schools (*Kultusminister*). Clerical school-inspection has ceased to exist. Also, the custom of giving preference to a theologian in the choice of a district school inspector (*Kreisschulinspektor*) no longer obtains.

In the smaller village-schools one of the teachers is appointed by the district-inspector to receive the school-mail and preside at the various school-exercises. Apart from that he is on an equality with all the other teachers. The change gives promise that in the future the teachers will exercise a greater and far more independent influence on the life of the community. Even now the support which the Elementary School teachers are giving the Republic is noteworthy.

The Normal Schools (*Lehrerseminare*) and the Preparatory Schools for the Normal Schools (*Präparanden-Anstalten*) are no longer in existence. Each of these schools had a three-year course, and the sixth year was followed by a year of practice-teaching. Pupils entered the Preparatory Schools after completing their time at the *Volksschule*. These schools had some very exceptional qualities. The pedagogical teaching was highly-developed, especially along the line of the Herbartian doctrines and the methods of Pestalozzi. The curriculum included six years' training on the violin, and thorough instruction in vocal music. This accounts in part for the Germans always having been such good musicians.

In spite of this thoroughness, however, there was a lack in the outlook upon the whole of life. The main drawbacks arose from the class-distinction fostered by such institutions. All the pupils, at least in the Normal Schools for men, came from the public schools (*Volksschulen*). They could never gain admittance into a University. The social gap was hard and fixed. An army-officer could not marry a public school teacher without practically losing his rank. The University men and teachers in the higher schools felt that they were quite superior to the common school teachers. Now, when the Revolution came, the public school teachers demanded that these social

distinctions should be done away with at once. It is due to this, then, that the Normal Schools were abolished, rather than to any incompetency in their training and instruction.

So far nothing definite has been put in the place of the Normal School. Additional teachers are not needed for the time-being. In the spring of 1921 Germany still had a surplus of 17,000 teachers. These came from Alsace-Lorraine, Upper Silesia, Poland, Schleswig-Holstein and the former German Colonies. After these have been placed, Prussia plans to establish about fifty *Aufbauschulen* in connection with the Universities and other higher institutions. From the public schools, the pupil will go to an *Aufbauschule* that is attached to a Higher School. Having completed such a course he will proceed to an *Aufbauschule* of a higher grade, i.e., a seminary connected with one of the Universities. The plan for the future anticipates that every teacher in the Elementary Schools shall have spent at least one year in the University. It is believed that this will give a broader training, and will help to break the old-time social distinction.

Already a greater part of the preparatory classes (*Vorschulklassen*) for the Higher Schools have disappeared. In March, 1925, the last will be abolished. All children are to attend the common schools (*Grundschule*) from six to ten years of age. Even if the State Preparatory Schools exist no longer, no doubt certain of the wealthier families will find means of sending their children to private schools, in order to keep them from contact with children of the toilers. The fact, however, that the State itself no longer recognizes these social distinctions must be regarded as a great step towards a better democracy.

Opportunities for organizing new types of schools and new methods of teaching have been greatly facilitated. Such experiments are the Schools of Manual Labour ((*Arbeitsschule*), the Community Schools (*Schulgemeinden*), Schools for the exceptionally-talented (*Begabtenschulen*), Open-air Schools (*Waldschulen*), and Schools of Mutual Participation (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*). The present financial circumstances of the Republic hinder all these new experiments greatly. Much has been done, however, in spite of the great poverty.

Directors of the Higher Schools are still active, but much of their power has been lost. For the most part their functions consist solely in the chairmanship of the Faculty. The importance of the individual teacher has risen. The teachers can vote rules by which the director himself is bound. They can demand that certain topics should be made the discussion of a Faculty Meeting. Formerly they had the right to request this, but the director had the right to ignore it. This power he has lost. The teachers are empowered to help to organize the schools, and form the classes and the curriculum. They have a voice in fixing the modes of punishment and methods of discipline. Formerly the director assumed entire responsibility for all these duties, excepting so far as he himself was subject to the dictation of those above him. Further, each teacher is free now to use his own methods of teaching. Even the Faculty may not dictate to an individual teacher what plans he shall use.

For the first time in German history the public school teachers (*Volkschullehrer*) are officers in the Pedagogical Council of the Minister of Education. They help in the preliminary preparation of school-laws. They are permanent collaborators of the Minister. Such an innovation was unheard-of before the War.

The right to visit school-classes has been granted to the parents. Before the War such a proposition was regarded as wholly impossible. The writer was surprised to note the number of parents who availed themselves of the new privilege, especially in the Experimental Schools.

The effort to enlist the help of the more influential patrons has taken definite form in the creation of a Parents' Council (*Elternbeirat*). No one can be a member unless he or she has a child in the school. This provision was made with the express intention of excluding certain wealthy people in each community, who sometimes attempted to dictate what the schools for the people should be, whilst at the same time they sent their own children to private or Higher Schools. It also got rid of the possibility of having the priest as a member, or the pastor, who usually tried to dominate the *Volksschule*, but rarely sent his own children to it.

The six members of the *Elternbeirat* are elected by the patrons of the school. The work of this Council has been most successful in the strongly socialist sections. They give substantial help in co-operating with the teacher in securing discipline and harmony between school and parents. In some quarters they have helped to supply books and school-equipment of all kinds. On the other hand, there has been some friction. Nearly every day one reads of incidents in the daily press that show that the reactionaries resent the advent of this new power to the people, especially when the *Beirat* proposes books for the school-library that displease the upper classes. One may rest assured, however, that this splendid change will be permanent. German democracy has advanced, and the world has reason to rejoice.

Freedom has gone even farther. Pupils have the right to elect one of their own members as speaker (*Sprecher*). He presents to the teacher and the *Elternbeirat* the wishes of the pupils regarding the curriculum, hours, etc. The pupils have no authority to force their demands, but their requests must at least be heard. Each school has the right to form a school-community (*Schulgemeinde*). In certain of the Secondary Schools teachers reported to the writer that this innovation was proving very successful. It was leading to self-government. Thus another hope for German democracy is raised!

Certain important additions were made to the Higher Schools. A directorship (*Ministerialdirector*) was created for the Peoples' High Schools (*Volkschochschulen*). The Prussian Parliament votes an annual appropriation for the maintenance of this form of adult-education.[1] Universities and Technical High Schools are required to

[1] The *Volkschochschulen* offer a splendid system of adult-education in local centres. They aim at giving teaching of a University type which includes a variety of cultural, technical and lecture courses, stressing on the cultural end. Since there is a strict eight-hour working-day in Germany the workers are enabled to take advantage of this form of education to a great extent.

co-operate with the Peoples' High Schools. They supply a part of the rooms and a part of the teaching-staff.

In the spring of 1920 an Economic Institute was opened at Münster.

At Frankfort-on-the-Main an Academy of Labour (*Akademie der Arbeit*) has been founded. This institution has the special function of training leaders for workers' guilds and unions.

In Berlin a High School of Political Science (*Hochschule für Politik*) has been created.

There has been established a thoroughly democratic University at Cologne.

Courses for workers' guilds and corporations (*Gewerkschaftskurse*) have been created in the Universities and Technical High Schools.

Finally, every type of German education can show progress in the direction of democracy, and a wider and deeper dissemination of knowledge among the people.

2. *Bavaria*

Before the Revolution the power of the clergy over the school was exceptionally great in Bavaria. As inspectors they held the teachers in close rein. Strained relations existed between the two groups most of the time. This arose from the circumstance that the teachers demanded professionally-trained inspectors. The clergy, especially the Catholics, resented deeply any suggestion of such a new innovation. Many looked upon the teacher as a sort of underling, who was supposed to dance whenever the pastor or priest whistled. Others (the number is said to have been proportionately small) were more tolerant, and made their inspection with some degree of consideration towards the teacher. There were other cases (and these are said to have been the exception) in which the pastor or priest regarded the teacher as a co-labourer in the vineyard of the Lord. Teachers were rated according to their loyalty to the party-beliefs of the *Schulinspektor*, rather than according to professional ability, and it was rarely indeed that a teacher dared enter into open political opposition to his chief.

We have noted that the German Constitution of 1919 abolished clerical school-inspection for all States. In the same year a law was passed in Bavaria whereby the teachers chose their own leader and made their own rules (*Kollegiale-Schulverwaltung*). In the summer of 1922, however, this law was repealed. On October 1st, 1922, directors were appointed again as before the War.[1]

In the country-districts until 1920 the teacher was forced into the service of the Church. He played the organ, led the choir, and often was first assistant in the Mass service.[2] Besides, the teacher was often

[1] This is a State law. However, clerical inspection cannot be restored, because such a course runs counter to the laws of the Republic. That is the only condition that prevents the clergy from getting back to full power. The reader must understand that Bavaria (1923) is quite ready to restore the monarchy. This effort is especially centred in a restoration of the Prince, who is a Catholic (House of Wittelsbach).

[2] Until 1920 organ-playing and a course in Mass service were required subjects for all Catholic students in the Normal Schools of Bavaria.

the municipal clerk, a post that necessitated much writing. His wife had the responsibility of keeping the church clean. She could do the work herself, or pay for having it done out of her own income. She usually received a certain allowance for cleaning-materials, but even this small sum was often diverted back to the Church by the clergy.

To-day the situation is quite changed. The church-cleaning is done by an appointed individual, who is paid by the church-community. The law strictly forbids the teacher's wife or her servant to undertake to clean either church or school, even in return for pay. The teacher dares not undertake the old-time clerical work of the municipality. He is not compelled to play the organ, but traditional pressure is still so great that few teachers could hold their position if they refused to play. However, he is paid fairly well for this service now. For each burial service he receives extra pay. The community still furnishes the teacher with both light and fuel. The more independent position of the teacher is said to have improved the relations between teacher and clergy.

Formerly both the teachers and the clergy received gifts that were not inconsiderable in value. To-day this custom has fallen into disuse to a great extent. In the country, however, such presents are still received, even though there is an express order against it. The gifts to pastor and priest are notably more munificent.

Parents' Councils (*Elternbeirat*) such as we have described for Prussia have been created. Their functioning is a great deal less extensive in Bavaria, with the exception perhaps of the socialist city of Nürnberg. That the people may have a voice in the conduct of the school makes no great appeal to either monarchists or Catholics. For this reason the Parents' Councils are occupied in endless political and religious quarrels. Two types of Councils have come into existence, the Denominational and the Liberal. The Bavarian Government (Minister Matt) openly sympathizes with the Denominational group. The Liberal Councils are working for the establishment of a curriculum, and the use of text-books that will forward republican ideas. Their chances of immediate success are not encouraging. Minister Matt belongs to the powerful Bavarian Peoples' Party. He is striving to have all the reading and history-texts present either the Protestant or Catholic point of view, but with no republican aspirations. The Bishops, who appear more concerned over politics than over the saving of souls, are lending him every possible assistance.

In the administration and organization of the Middle Schools no marked changes have taken place. However, we may call attention to the parents' assembly[1] which meets once a year at the call of the rector. Parents are given an opportunity to register complaints which are made the basis of a general discussion. Pupils' committees have

[1] This differs from the Parents' Council (*Elternbeirat*) in that it is a union of all the parents of the children in the school. On the other hand the Parents' Council is an elected group of six, and is of greater importance.

been created which decide on the sport-activities, excursions and the like.[1]

For the first two years after the Revolution each class used to elect a class-representative, whose duty it was to present the class's wishes to the teacher and to register complaints of any kind. During the year 1921-22 the practice fell greatly into disuse. Someone asks why. The teacher resented hearing the petitions and requests of the class. The class-representative soon felt that the teacher held a personal grudge against him if he exercised his duties. He resigned. No one was willing to take his place. The interest of this lies in the proof it affords that there is a lack of confidence between teacher and pupils. It is also a measure of what remains to be done before Bavaria can become a real part of the Republic. If democratic principles find such difficulty in asserting themselves in the school, we can readily understand the backward state of affairs in Government and Church.

Likewise, the Higher Schools have undergone no fundamental changes. Certain slight modifications, however, deserve notice, because they do indicate a movement in the direction of democracy, and a growth of self-consciousness on the part of the students.

The Higher Schools are controlled by a Senate, which is composed of the rector, vice-rector and the various departmental heads. This body is under the direct control of the Minister of Education.

Since the Revolution the student-committees have the right to elect one of their members to sit on the Senate. These same committees have undertaken other obligations destined to promote the general welfare of the institution. They have organized a bureau of self-help which has assumed an enormous activity. Work of different kinds is secured for students during the school-year, and for the vacation-periods. A second bureau is occupied in buying books, papers and other equipment at reduced rates. A third committee is engaged in organizing the physical exercises and sports. A fourth project undertakes to organize boarding-clubs so that students may get lunches and dinners at reduced rates. Owing to the great poverty of Germany this innovation has made a great appeal to many.

3. *Saxony*

We may regard Prussia as the typical German State, Bavaria as one of the more reactionary, and Saxony as one of the more progressive. Perhaps little of importance could be cited for any other German State for which a parallel could not be found in one of these three.

Progressive action has gone far in Saxony. The directors of the Higher Schools and the Rectors of the Middle and Elementary Schools no longer exist. The staff of each school elects one of its own number to act as chairman. He is chosen for a period of three years. A committee of three to five is chosen to act with him on all important

[2] English and American students will be surprised to hear that such innovations are considered unusual. It only illustrates once more how completely everything used to be directed from above in Germany.

questions. In fact, the chairman dares not answer school-mail, if it contains matters of any importance, without first laying the subject before the committee. The curriculum and hours of study, play and discipline are decided by the Faculty as a whole. There are limits to this autonomy. The Minister of Education and the Council under him do lay down certain principles that must be carried-out. Within these limits, the Faculty exercises considerable range.

When there is a vacancy to be filled the Faculty presents three names and its preference to the municipal school committee. Unless there are very exceptional reasons, the school-committee is expected to appoint the choice of the Faculty. Also, a teacher cannot be dismissed without the consent of the Faculty.

The writer visited several institutions that were being run on the new plan, and was pleased to note that everything seemed to be working quite smoothly. There was wanting the formality and pomp of former days, but the essentials of efficiency were everywhere present. The military air had given place to a spirit of democracy.

The greater freedom in Saxony as compared with Bavaria[1] may be explained by the fact that Saxony has a far stronger Protestant basis, and that it is a more industrial State.

Since 1870 any school that had as many as six teachers had a director appointed. This meant professional inspection. Down to the Revolution, however, the local school-inspector of the smaller schools continued to be the pastor or priest. He could terrorize the teachers because he sent in a secret report. The Revolution revealed some astounding cases of gross dishonesty and malice on the part of the clergy in these reports. They revealed that these religious men are like all other persons, except that they are endowed a little less well with the ordinary principles of integrity and human kindness.

The republican Government of Saxony has searched the wills regarding the disposal of some of the church-property. It was possible to show that the clergy in times-past had falsified some of these wills. The income had been turned from the schools, and given over to the Church. These abuses have now been corrected. The Normal Schools in Saxony have been abolished, as we noted in the case of Prussia, and for the same reasons. *Seminare* have been established in connection with the Higher Schools and the University of Leipzig.

(*b*) Loyalty to a Republic

To secure the loyalty of the children of the German schools to the Republic is certainly at once the most important and difficult goal which the new system is striving to attain. It represents a complete break with the past. Formerly the children were taught to be loyal not only to the State but particularly to the Royal House. Extreme

[1] Bavaria has a large number of Sunday church-papers. The priests insist that these should be purchased. This proves an effective method of controlling the opinion of the masses, and the sway of power is great, especially over the women.

efforts were made to impart an admiration for the rulers, as is evident if one examines any one of the texts used in the reading, history and civics classes. There was no end to the stories about *kaisers*, kings, princes and military personages. The sum-total of this reading-matter was one grand glorification of all these characters, whose virtues were exaggerated and whose vices were completely ignored.[1]

The Revolution suddenly changed all. The Majority Socialists were in power in the Reichstag and in most of the several States. For the first few months Prussia passed so far to the Left, that Herr Hoffmann,[2] a Bolshevist editor, became the first Minister of Education. His republican and progressive tendencies are to be noted in his official orders. (*a*) The abolition of religious instruction in the schools.[3] (*b*) Equal rights for both sexes in all schools and all branches of instruction. (*c*) The formation of mixed classes, and the abolition of the law which forbade the two sexes from going on school excursions and picnics together. These are Bolshevist doctrines, but to an American they seem quite reasonable and moderate.

The second Minister of Education was Herr Haenisch, a Socialist editor. He held power for two-and-a-half years. Many changes along republican lines were carried into effect. Of great importance and full of idealism was the order which he issued, and which was followed by repeated explanations, that children were to be taught a policy of reconciliation with all nations, that war must be avoided under all circumstances, and that every question, no matter what its character or origin might be, must be settled by arbitration.

War-stories and descriptions of battles were to play a very small part in the historical setting. On the other hand, sociology, economics and all cultural events were to receive correspondingly increased attention. Pupils were to be taught the uselessness of wars of conquest and the nonsense of entering wars for the sake of revenge. Particular stress was to be laid upon the disastrous political, economic and moral consequences of the Great War. The origin of all wars was to be presented and studied in a wholly objective sense. There was to be no glorification of wars and the personages that have arisen out of them. Special stress was to be laid upon all quarrels between nations that were settled by arbitration. Martial poems were to be

[1] The Germans were not the only ones guilty of this hypocrisy. There is not a country in the world that has a Royal House that is able to escape a certain insincerity in the instruction which is imparted to the children regarding the virtues and intelligences of the members of the royal household. It shows itself even in the mockery of conferring honorary degrees!

[2] During the war his efforts for peace were so great that they very nearly cost his life. On one occasion the Finance Minister urged the people, in a public address in Berlin, to buy War Bonds, and, among other arguments, he assured his audience that God was in the trenches. Herr Hoffmann, who happened to be in the audience, called out, "In which trenches?"

[3] This order was never carried into full execution except in the larger cities, and then only for a few months.

treated from the pacifist's standpoint. A more serious effort was to be made to present a correct judgment concerning other nations, and especially was the teacher to be warned against giving the children an exaggerated opinion of the virtues of the German people.

The children were to be taught to take an international view of the recent decades; and great men, poets and inventors of all nations were to be presented and studied in a light that was thoroughly international.

Special lectures were to be arranged whereat the teacher would have opportunity to discuss the present rights of all the people, and this was to be done in a manner that looked toward world-peace.

All books of military and exclusively national character were to be removed from school-libraries. In this connection it is interesting to note that quite a number of German schools have already established a special "Bonfire Day."[1] On such occasions the children bring large quantities of books that are considered objectionable, not only from the standpoint of military teaching, but also from the viewpoint of morals. Speeches are made, proper ceremonies observed, and then fire is set to the lot. It is a cleansing day for the German public school. These ceremonies are arranged and carried into execution by the pupils themselves. It certainly must be regarded as one of the most hopeful signs of the German Republic.

In Prussia, as in Saxony and other socialist States, the official order states that the new school-books are to have no pictures of generals, cannon or any other instruments of war; also the same order requires that the picture of the Kaiser and all military pictures be removed from the school-room. It is interesting to note that this command was to be carried into execution in an unostentatious way; that is, the order stated that the pictures and portraits should be removed during the vacation and be put away in store-rooms where they would not be destroyed. In future years, when the German Republic should be fully-established and there should be no danger of having the military instincts of the people aroused, some of these pictures, in so far as they represented real works of art, might again be restored. Of course no one could possibly object to this. Large numbers of these portraits represent the work of the best artists of the world. The writer visited a number of schools in Berlin, and in the neighbourhood of Hanover, Dresden, Leipzig and Nürnberg. He found that in general this official order had been carried out. In some cases the Kaiser's picture was still on the wall, the teacher explaining that no one had taken any interest in the order one way or the other, and that no harm could be done to the Republic by allowing the picture to remain.

In the autumn of 1919 a general order was issued that no school-

[1] Details of what took place on the "Bonfire Days" have been recounted to the writer by a number of eye-witnesses. The sincerity and idealism of this movement can in no wise be questioned.

books were to contain any glorification in word or portrait[1] of the previous form of government.[2]

In the autumn of 1921 the Socialists of Prussia were compelled to form a compromise-government. The post of Minister of Education had to be ceded to the parties of the Right. The socialist Minister was succeeded by Herr Becker who declared himself neutral but was in reality a Conservative. After a few months he was succeeded by Herr Boelitz of the Peoples' Party who held power throughout the year 1922. This Minister has not withdrawn any of the orders of his predecessors and it is not likely that he will do so. On the other hand, he certainly cannot be accused of working over-time to carry-out any of these orders. In fact, we know that his spirit is quite typical of the Peoples' Party. He accepts the Republic as a makeshift and looks forward to the time when the monarchy will be restored. At the National Assembly of the Peoples' Party in 1921 he made an address in which he said that among the best people in Germany the Kaiser-idea still slumbered. He stated that, although the Minister Haenisch might take all the pictures of the Hohenzollerns out of the schools, the memory of that great House would remain forever in the hearts of the people. He remarked that the German Revolution had only temporarily crushed the Prussian spirit and ended his address by saying, *Der alte Geist Preussens, der Geist Potsdams muss und wird wiederkommen.*

Such a situation throws the future into the deepest uncertainty. At least four-fifths of all the University professors and the teachers in the Higher Schools of Prussia are in favour of the restoration of the Hohenzollern or some form of constitutional monarchy. Hence they continue to teach history and civics in the same sense and from the same viewpoint as it was always taught. There are a certain number of exceptions, however, that one is happy to note, and in the Elementary Schools the great majority of the teachers are supporting the republican point of view. Only time can show which one of these rival forces will finally gain the day.

In such a state as Bavaria the Government is only republican in

[1] This order is executed only in part. The Republic is too weak to carry out its programme.

[2] As is natural, there has had to be some change in the form of worship and prayer in the churches with the change in the form of government. During the spring of 1921 the writer happened to be spending some days in a small village, and had occasion to witness an amusing incident in connection with the above statement. A few days before, the aged pastor, having forgotten that Germany had passed through a Revolution, and having mixed his prayer-papers, read the morning-worship and the former official prayer, in which he asked the Lord to bless the German Kaiser, the Princes and the German army and navy. The audience, composed as usual of good-natural old women and a few men, made no protest. However, in the course of the week, one of the parishioners thought fit to call to the old gentleman's attention what he had done, at which he became terrified for fear that he had committed a State offence; so on the following Sunday the first thing he did was to ask the people to forgive him for having invoked a blessing on the Kaiser and the army and navy.

form. Nearly all the higher officials are monarchists in spirit. During a two months' residence in Bavaria, in 1922, the writer had occasion to interview a large number of competent observers. It seems that 95 per cent. of all the University and Higher School teachers favour the restoration of the royal house. The clergy, especially the Catholics, with almost no exceptions, give full support to the monarchistic idea. It is estimated by some observers that only 20 per cent. of the Elementary School teachers are making any manifestation toward republican support, while others hold that the number who really favour the Republic would make a strong majority. It is quite difficult to determine the real facts. People hesitate to express their honest convictions. They never know whether they are talking to a friend or enemy. Besides, many are quite undecided.

States such as Saxony and Thüringen are the hope of the Republic. Socialist Ministers of Education still retain power. The great majority of the Elementary School teachers are strongly republican. Even in the Higher Schools republican principles prevail. Evidence of this lies in the success of the teachers' effort to rid the institutions of any hidden militarism which tried to retain its hold there.[1]

(*c*) The Curriculum

1. *History*

The Socialists, being in power in most States after the Revolution, made it possible to inaugurate a complete change in both the subject-matter and the spirit of the history-teaching. Decrees were ordered and programmes sent out to School Authorities which showed a sincere attempt to give a historical presentation that was impartial and international.

The revised form of teaching aimed at emphasizing the cultural side of historical happenings. Much space was to be given to the social and economic conditions of each period. Wars were to be treated as the outcome of economic conditions. Their frightfulness was to be emphasized. Some conflicts might be classed as wars for freedom. However, in our own age, we had evolved means that made a higher and more universally-enjoyed civilization possible without wars. The history-teaching was going to contribute its part towards the attainment of these new goals. Orders were given that the history-texts should be re-written in the new spirit.

Some splendid efforts have been made in this direction. Among the more important may be noted the *Synoptische Geschichtstabellen für die Zeit von etwa 1500 bis 1920*, by Kawerau, Ausländer, Reintjes and Wuessing. This work was undertaken on the authority of Herr Haenisch, the Socialist Prussian Minister of Education, and is done in a thoroughly impartial manner. The foreigner might be curious to

[1] Some teachers in Prussia, and more in Bavaria, admitted to the writer that some of the physical education was only a disguised form of military training. Perhaps it is only natural for the reactionary sections to practice secretly what other nations do openly.

see how the Great War is treated here. The events are listed in their exact order. The bare facts afford their own conclusions, and no fair-minded person could possibly find reason to take exception to them. The work reflects real credit upon its authors (for it is evident that they strove for truth rather than for the justification of a cause), and on the Socialist Party.

The Prussian Minister of Education tried to have the book adopted in the German Secondary Schools. In this he failed. The opposition from the Right, supported by University professors, was too strong. Nevertheless, in sections of Germany where the parties of the Left are in power, this book and similar outlines are in use. The reader must bear in mind that nothing is uniform in Germany to-day. No political section in either the National Government, or in that of any of the several States has been strong enough to impose its orders upon the whole people.

The various State Governments have forbidden the use of certain of the former history-texts. Owing to the fact that the majority of the teachers in the Higher Schools were not in sympathy with the Socialist or Labour Governments, they refused to abide by the order. The defiance was not direct. It was clothed in the excuse that new books could not be obtained. That statement has some truth in it. However, certain of the old editions have had a new chapter added which covers the World War. Also, some new books have appeared. The majority of these give an account that even an impartial critic must consider untruthful. We will attempt to give the reader a summary review of the viewpoint that obtains in the majority of the Secondary Schools when the Great War is under discussion.

In certain of the schools the history and English classes are combined for a part of the school-year. The writer was astonished to find that the texts in use for such courses were *The European War of 1914; its Causes, Purposes and Probable Results*, by John W. Burgess, formerly Professor of Constitutional and International Law, and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University; also *England and Germany in the War*, by Robert J. Thompson, former American Consul at Aix-la-Chapelle. Both these texts justify Germany's cause in every detail. After witnessing a recitation in one of the schools the writer was presented with a copy of each of the books by the teacher with these words, "In order to be certain that we are giving our children a fair and impartial account of the origin and conduct of the War, we have selected books written by eminent authorities of your own country."

Americans will remember that the articles written during the War by both Dean Burgess and Consul Thompson were originally intended for the American people. German School Authorities had them compiled and edited in 1917 for school-use. They continue to be popular texts.

We cite typical passages from the Burgess text which will give the reader a general idea of the argument throughout:

"The question between Austria-Hungary and Serbia was one in-

volving the honour and existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a question, therefore, in which, according to the existing canons and practices of diplomacy, no other power had any right to interfere, and which, according to these same canons and usages, was not subject to arbitration. Moreover, the purpose of this demand was entirely punitive. It was not an issue under which Austria was seeking her own aggrandizement or to disturb the balance of power in Europe. She solemnly declared that she would annex no foot of Serbian territory."

Sir Edward Grey is accused of insincerity in the War Speech of August 3rd, 1914. The argument ends thus, "Even Englishmen doubt whether the British Cabinet could have brought the Parliament and the people to the approval of its war policy without that bit of deception practiced on them by the Foreign Minister in that speech of August 3rd. Three members of the Cabinet, the most honest and genuinely patriotic men in it, Morley, Burns, and Trevelyan, left the Cabinet rather than be participant in this policy; J. Ramsay MacDonald, member of Parliament, denounced Sir Edward Grey in unsparing terms for his disingenuousness; Arthur Ponsonby pointedly asked the question in an article in the London *Nation*: 'Did the Prime Minister in referring to what he called the infamous proposal at the same time draw attention to the German Ambassador's request, *at a later date*, that we should formulate the conditions on which we would remain neutral?' and answered it 'No,' and C. H. Norman declared that 'Sir Edward Grey laid a snare for the House of Commons, out of which, in the excited condition of public opinion, the House could not be extricated with honour and dignity.'

"Moreover, Sir Edward Grey declared in this same speech of August 3rd, that the British fleet was already mobilized and that the army was mobilizing, that the forces of the Crown were ready and that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty, there was never a time when those forces were in a higher state of readiness and efficiency than at that moment. With regret I am compelled to say, that through his own utterances, Sir Edward Grey seems to me to convict himself of having consciously followed a course of conduct leading directly to universal war."

Speaking of the underlying causes of the War, we read:

"German militarism is, thus, when properly understood, seen to be democratic and defensive. It is the only kind of militarism compatible with popular liberty and constitutional government. It is the permanent, professional army in rank and file which, on the other hand, is dangerous to liberty at home and given to adventure abroad. Moreover, German militarism has been so developed and regulated as to prove rather an economic advantage than an economic burden. This is owing to the fact that the German army is not simply an organization for drill, discipline and fighting, but that it is also a school of general physical culture, through which the average life of German men has been increased by ten years and their average capacity for any kind of work by twenty-five per cent; that it is a school of intellectual culture in which, besides military drill and

tactics, mathematics, engineering, physics, geography, and sanitation are taught to all men; that it is a school of moral culture which prevents demoralization and dissoluteness in the young men at the most critical age; that it is a school of politeness in which rudeness of manners gives way to habits of courtesy; and that it is a school of genuine patriotism through which the spirit of provincialism is made to yield to national loyalty. These educational and practical compensations overbalance the economic burden of German militarism and distinguish it from the militarism of Russia and France, although they are all based upon the same principle of universal military service. The system of commandership is, also, much less autocratic than in the military systems of Great Britain, Russia or France."

Also:

"The so-called German militarism turns out, thus, when correctly understood, to be not only a popular duty but a popular right of the most fundamental and, for Germany, most essential character. It originated in the great efforts of Prussia to rid the German States of the invasions of the first Napoleon. Its spirit and purpose were, therefore, at the outset, defensive, and the point of that defence was first turned against France. But the expulsion of the French from German soil was accomplished by the aid of Russia. Russia was, thereby, introduced into Germany and her influence over the politics of middle Europe became balefully paramount."

In Consul Thompson's book the most interesting chapter is the one which contains long and detailed denials of the German atrocities. We make no attempt to comment on either of these texts. It is quite clear, however, that so long as the children in the higher classes in German schools are supplied only with such reading-matter, the point of view that will be developed in them will not be conducive to the peace of Europe.

After consulting a number of German texts now in use, one may safely say that the usual explanation of the origin and result of the Great War is about as follows:

"The War seems to have had a variety of causes, as is the case in all great world-movements. However, it may be safely asserted that Germany was not mostly to blame. She was winning the War, and would certainly have won it if the United States had kept neutral."

Neubauer's text, which is used extensively in Higher Schools, states that the Kaiser made every possible effort to secure Russian neutrality, but could get no satisfactory reply, hence it became necessary for Germany to order mobilization on August 1st, 1914. "The next day French troops crossed the German frontier. German troops crossed into Belgium, after having been definitely informed that the enemy troops intended to enter Belgium. It was only natural that Germany must anticipate such movements."

In no country is America credited with more altruistic reasons for her entrance into the War than her own protection and financial interest. At one time Great Britain, and especially France, did hold that idealism and a love of justice played a great rôle in bringing

America into the War.[1] That opinion has been losing advocates steadily.

Of course, in Germany, it was held from the first that the United states acted solely in her financial interests. The German history-texts emphasize two incidents that were made the occasion for our entry into the War. Firstly, the sinking of the *Lusitania*; it is explained that she carried contraband of War,[2] and that Americans were warned not to embark in her. Secondly, the unfortunate discovery of Germany's secret plans to organize a war on Mexican soil against the United States. These events are given such a setting as to justify fully the consequent German action in the eyes of the school-children.

Finally, it is President Wilson who is blamed for encouraging the German people to overthrow their Government on the ground that his Fourteen Points promised an ideal and just peace for all.

After that follow the peace-terms, as decided by the Treaty of Versailles. This is given as evidence that President Wilson either could not keep, or did not wish to keep, his word. In nearly all texts that have come to the attention of the writer there are bitter complaints about the unjust stipulations of the treaty.[3] Some liken the terms to those which Rome imposed upon Carthage. The greatest bitterness seems to spring from the particular clause by which the Germans were forced to sign an admission that the German Empire alone was to blame for the War. To them this appears to be an exaggeration of the greatest magnitude, and sympathy is easily aroused every time the point is mentioned.

Quite a number of booklets covering the Great War have been published for use in the Elementary Schools. Germany seems to be the only country that is making a special feature of teaching the causes, the course of the conflict, and the final results to the children in the primary grades. Unfortunately many of these presentations show the same bias already-noted in the texts used in the Secondary Schools. Germany is excused, or even justified to a degree that is

[1] In the opinion of the writer, such motives did lie at the basis of our actions. However, it is difficult to maintain these views over here, after the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James has repeatedly told the Europeans that America came in on her own account and for her own interest.

[2] The American and German viewpoints are in complete disagreement on this question.

[3] There are many private societies that publish the chief terms of the treaty in hand-book form. These are constantly being distributed among school-children and among workmen in the factories and in the churches. Germany is the only country where any large percentage of the people know what the Treaty of Versailles contains. Pamphlets are also constantly distributed showing what deliveries Germany is making every quarter, also the amount in money and kind that is being paid-out for the different Armies of Occupation. The spirit in which this wide-spread effort is being carried-on is not calculated to further peace in Europe. It must also be added that there are many thoughtful persons in the Allied Countries who are far from convinced that the treaty itself, and especially the manner of its execution, is a happy beginning towards restoring trade and confidence among the nations.

not compatible with the whole truth. Occasionally one does come across short summaries of the War to which no objection could be taken. Most of them are published by the Independent Socialist press. It is difficult to get them introduced into the schools as general reading-matter, except in those centres that are overpoweringly industrial. If the Allies would only take a more sympathetic attitude towards these friends of peace the cause of humanity and permanent understanding would gain new hope. The writer has met a large number of men and women in Germany who are working faithfully and honestly to make amends for the wrongs of the past and for the foundations of a lasting peace. Their chief doctrines may be summarized thus:

"The teaching of hatred of the nations is to be banned from the schools.

"The New Germany must refrain from acquiring any new territory by force.[1]

"Germany wishes to be accepted into the League of Nations.

"The principle that might goes before right is folly."

On several occasions the writer was present when the above ideals were being taught in the classes. Of the sincerity with which such teaching is given there is not the slightest doubt. It ought to be more widespread, not only in Germany, but amongst ourselves!

2. *Religion*

The German Constitution reserves the right to the Empire to lay down certain principles which form the basis of the legislation for the several States. The question of religion comes in this category. Paragraph 2 of Section 146 of the Constitution provides that the communities shall establish schools according to the creed or belief of the school-patrons. An explanatory clause follows, which states that the will of the patrons is to be given all possible consideration. This is followed by the statement that more detailed regulations will be fixed by national legislation.

It must be quite evident to the reader that these provisions are far from definite. They represent a compromise through which each of the political sections hoped to win the lion's share at a later date. How each of these parties is trying to turn the indefinite phrasing to its particular advantage, is seen in the *Reichschulkonferenz* reports of 1920,[2] and the proposed law (*Reichsschulgesetzentwurf*) of April 22nd, 1921.[3]

Before undertaking a discussion of the legislation now under con-

[1] Article 2 of the Constitution provides that Germany can acquire new territory only at the express wish of the people concerned.

[2] See *Amtlicher Bericht*, 1921.

[3] Mumm, D. Reinhard, *Das Reichsschulgesetz*. This little volume gives the proposed law, and the arguments for and against the project of all the political parties.

sideration, it seems helpful to be quite clear on the actual practice in certain typical States since the outbreak of the Revolution.[1]

In Saxony the Socialists were so strong for a time that religion was put out of the schools entirely. Then a reaction set in that caused its restoration in a large number of schools. However, even where it is taught again the rôle which it plays is much more modest than formerly. The hours devoted to it are fewer, the teaching itself is less dogmatic. It must be made fairly attractive, or else the children will refuse to take it.

All the new Experimental Schools (which we shall discuss later)[2] make no attempt at religious teaching whatever. There is much reason to believe that these new schools will exercise a great influence in the German education of the future. If so, religious instruction of a dogmatic character is destined to a minor rôle in the coming decades.

At present (1923) one finds whole classes in which nobody takes religious instruction, and, on the other hand, other classes in which nearly all take it. In general one may say that during the first four years of school life there is in reality no religious instruction. This is the period for the common school (*Grundschule*)[3] for all, as provided by the Constitution, Section 146, § 1.

If the father and mother disagree, which is not infrequent in socialist Saxony, the judge names a disinterested person who decides whether the child shall have religious instruction or no. If the child is between the ages of ten and twelve years its opinion must be heard. A child over twelve years of age may decide for himself on the question even against the will of both parents.

The German Republic plans to make the twentieth century one in which children are not only seen but also heard.

For a time the pastors tried to force religious instruction into the schools again by refusing to confirm the children unless they had had so many hours of it in school. This attempt failed.

In Bavaria the battle is more intense than elsewhere. The State school-law of 1919 contains a clause whereby the parents may decide whether their children shall be enrolled for religious instruction or not. Not many of the parents whose children are in the Lower and Middle Schools (*Volks und Mittelschulen*) make use of the negative privilege of the provision, since nearly all regard religious teaching as a necessity. In strongly Catholic sections, a child is looked upon askance if it refuses to take part in the religious instruction. The parents are made to feel that their child is abnormal.

Of the 60,000 children in the Munich schools (1922), about 200 refused to take religion.

The religious conflict in Bavaria is not raging between parents and the schools, but primarily between the priests and the schools. What

[1] Partial information has already been given. See p. 179.
[2] See p. 206.
[3] See p. 183.

do the clergy want? Firstly, they want to have their former control over the schools restored. Secondly, they oppose with extreme bitterness the *Simultanschule*. This is a type of school which receives children of all religious denominations. Teachers of all denominations, or of no religious faith whatever, are employed. In fact the religious question is not supposed to be raised when teachers are engaged. The instruction is common in all subjects except religion, for which special teachers are appointed; that is to say, the Catholic children are taught in the school by a priest, the Jewish children are given over to the Rabbi (if there is one in the community), and the Protestant children may be taught by the local pastor or, if the school is large enough, a special teacher will be appointed for full-time service. Thus, children are in no wise deprived of religious training. However, this is not satisfactory to the clergy in Bavaria. They want the out-and-out Denominational School (*Konfessionellesschule*). They insist that every teacher of the school should be of the same religious persuasion.

Certain of the German States have had the *Simultanschulen* for many years. Even Prussia established this type in the country and small villages. Since the Revolution quite a few of the Bavarian Lower Schools have been reorganized on the *Simultan* basis, and many middle *Simultanschulen* existed even before the Revolution. It is interesting to note the school-strike which was ordered by some of the priests during this last year (1922). From the pulpits the parents were requested to keep the children out of school. The charge was made that the *Simultanschule* was not religious, especially since the various branches, geography, drawing, singing and the like were no longer taught in the sense and the light of the Catholic Church.

These same church-forces are working for the overthrow of the German Republic and the final separation of Bavaria from Northern Germany.

On November 29th, 1918, the Prussian Minister of Education issued the following order:

"School-prayers[1] before and after school are to be omitted. Attendance upon religious services of any kind are no longer to be required by the school.

Schools must assume no denominational character whatever.

Teachers are not to be required to execute religious functions of any kind outside the school.

No child may be compelled to attend religious instruction. For pupils under fourteen years, the decision rests with the parents, and for those over that age, with the children themselves.

Religion is no longer to be an examination subject."

On December 28th, 1918 the Minister Haenisch felt obliged to issue a compromise-order in which he stated that the previous rules might

[1] The custom had fallen into disuse in many sections long ago.

be held in abeyance until the Prussian National Assembly formulated definite legislation. On April 1st, 1919, he was obliged to recall the November order entirely. That meant that the whole question of religious instruction had been allowed to degenerate into perfect chaos. Everything and nothing has transpired since. Each community does as it pleases. In the meantime local fights have been recorded in many parts of the country. A strong campaign for the retention of religious instruction has been undertaken by various educational and religious bodies.

On January 15th, 1919, a petition signed by 113 professors of the University of Berlin requested the retention of religious teaching in the form in which it had always been given. A similar petition signed by seven-million names was presented in March, 1919 to the Government.

The actual practice in Prussia in 1922 was about as follows: A large number of schools in the cities gave no religious instruction. These included practically all the new Experimental Schools. In the country and in the smaller villages religious instruction was well-nigh universal. However, the number of hours had been reduced from six to four; also the purely dogmatic teaching had been abandoned, i.e., the doctrines of the Holy Sacrament and Baptism. In Protestant classes the ten commandments, the five articles of faith, and the Lord's Prayer were still required. The writer noted that some of the teachers did not give the full four hours but substituted lessons in German literature instead. The teachers explained that they judged the lessons in literature more profitable. It indicated a liberty and initiative that were wholly unthought-of in the days of the Old Empire.

Teachers are not required to give religious instruction. However, this liberty exists largely in theory only. Some of the Independent Socialists have explained to the writer that any teacher who registers himself as being without any special religious belief finds difficulty in being appointed save in the strongly socialist sections.

Now we may return to the project (*Reichsschulgesetzentwurf*)[1] which was introduced into the *Reichstag* on April 22nd, 1921. This project assumed that the *Simultanschule* is going to be the rule, and the school which teaches a creed the exception. It was brought forward by the Majority Socialists as a compromise-measure on their part.[2] The measure is opposed strongly by nearly all the German Nationalists and a large part of the Peoples' Party and Centre Party, because it grants too little religion. These groups really want the Denominational School. The measure is opposed by the Independent Socialists and Communists, because it gives too much religion. These groups want the regular type of school to have no religious teaching whatever. Under the circumstances it is not safe to predict that the project will become law.

However, it is not certain that the Denominational School can be

[1] See p. 201.

[2] The Socialists prefer to have no religious teaching at all in the schools.

made the regular type. Its partisans in January, 1922, appeared to number 234 out of the 469 members in the *Reichstag*:

German Nationalists	71
Peoples' Party	65
Centre Party	72
Bavarian Peoples' Party	20
Bavarian Peasant Party	4
Hanovarian Party	2
	234

The opponents of the Denomiational School were lined up as follows:

Majority Socialists	108
Independent Socialists	87
Democrats	40
	235

No great cultural question can be decided so long as the division is as close as it is at present. For either party to attempt to force its will upon the other would mean civil war.

The writer attended the debates in the *Reichstag* on the proposed law on January 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1922. The bitterness and veritable hate with which the opposing parties attacked each other made an impression never to be forgotten. The Majority Socialists seemed to be the only ones who showed real calmness. They were constantly pouring oil upon the troubled waters.

Herr Hoffmann, the Communist member, made a powerful, sarcastic speech, aimed at all religious teaching in the schools. He aroused the anger of the groups of the Right to white heat, when he charged the Christian National School with having brought the German people to the humiliating Treaty of Versailles.

Herr Kunert of the Independent Socialists cited much evidence to show that the parties of the Right regarded the religious teaching as a police-force and a means of retaining the rule of the privileged and propertied classes. He pointed out that the school was still an annex of the Church, and not an institution that made free-thinking and responsible citizens. He aroused the ire of the Catholics when he drew attention to the terrorism which the Catholic leader Wildermann had foreshadowed as the result of a battle over culture (*Kultur-Kampf*), and he quoted these words from Wildermann's speech in the Prussian Parliament, " Attack our religious instruction, and we will give you such a shock as will create for you only anxiety and despair."[1]

The next member to speak was Rector Rheinländer,[2] who argued with the apparent approval of the Centre and Nationalist groups that

[1] It is always helpful to know that there are sponsors of religious teaching who are thinking of distributing such ferocious blessings!

[2] He had served as rector of a Catholic School for thirty-three years.

the Denominational School alone made possible the development of the child's personality and the attainment of complete harmony between school and family. He claimed that it was the only school that allowed the full expression of the personality of the teacher, for in every other type of school he was in constant fear lest he should come in conflict with the religious teachings of some of the children.

Next followed Dr. Mumm, who spoke in the name of the German Nationalists. In his person and manner he represented all that stood for the well-educated, proud, haughty, determined and never-changing Prussian. One could see in him all the virtues that had made Germany great, and likewise the unbending and intolerant spirit that necessitated her ruin. His argument throughout indicated that he looked upon religion as an instrument of control. The Christian religion was to permeate all branches, German, singing, history, geography. The Denominational School alone[1] lends itself to the complete fulfilment of this ideal. The speaker wanted a form of religious instruction that would serve to foster national unity. The Church and school must stand in the closest relation to the family. His whole programme was one that was conducive to the acquisition of much knowledge with almost no freedom. He himself was a splendid example of his own philosophy.

Another year has passed since these famous debates. Nothing definite has been decided. The decline of the German mark has affected every other question. Until Germany can secure financial stability all cultural questions will rest in obscurity. Some day they must revive again. The battles attending them will be long and fateful. Upon their outcome depends the future history of Central Europe. There seems to be no doubt that the pulse of the German people resides in these school-questions.

(*d*) Experimental Schools

1. *The Life School*

The new German Constitution gives evidence that the conceptions of education have undergone some real revolutions. Section 148 states explicitly that training for work (*Arbeitsunterricht*) is a regular branch of instruction. The Revolution did not create this idea but it did give it an opportunity to find a renewed and much more highly-developed expression. The germs of a transformation in education have been passing through the state of incubation in many parts of Germany for some decades. On the morning of the new *régime* these notions found themselves in widely-varying states of development and perfection. However, one has no difficulty in detecting common tendencies in all the present-day German Experimental Schools. They are the natural products of the same general forces. Firstly, one notes that the new ideas could have arisen only in an environment of highly-developed industry and commerce. Secondly, without exception, the new schools

[1] In fact, a Catholic member had made the statement the day before that religion ought to form a part in the teaching of mathematics.

show distinct traces of a definite reaction from autocracy. Education was becoming too mechanical and formal, especially on the side of administration and organization.[1] There was lack of freedom for both teacher and pupil. Dictation from the Government school-inspector and director brought on a pressure from which nature herself commenced to seek means of escape.

The Revolution found the people unprepared to make definite decisions on the various projects that pressed themselves upon popular attention. It was only natural that the idea of Experimental Schools should suggest itself. By this means, all the competing theories could be put to the test, and the best results passed over into the regular school-system. Further, the new Republic is founded on the idea of evolution, and a firm belief in change and progress. The innovations are to come from the people, hence there is no embarrassment in admitting mistakes, or in accepting suggestions. In accordance with such general conceptions and with the special emphasis which the Constitution laid upon new ideals in education, we find that each German State has made provisions for Experimental Schools (*Versuchsschulen*).

The description and discussion that follows in the remainder of this division is based on the observations of *Volksschule*, Number 46, in the city of Dresden. The school-commission (*Behörde*) designated this school as a *Versuchsschule*. Its administration, organization and curriculum have been given over almost entirely to the teachers of Dresden (*Lehrerverein*). The school has seventeen teachers and an average of about forty pupils for each teacher. The sexes are taught separately. Attendance is voluntary, and it must be said to the credit of the school that it has become impossible to accommodate all the children who apply for admission.

Schools quite similar in origin and present state of development are to be found in Leipzig, Chemnitz, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Düsseldorf, and a dozen other German cities. The school that we are now to consider is often called a school for training in work, *Arbeitsschule*. However, there are other experiments going on under the same name, hence an effort must be made to avoid confusion. We have chosen the term " Life School " for this type, because the title *Arbeitsschule* seems to be much more appropriate for two other types, namely, the *Arbeitsschule* of Herr Blonskij in Leipzig, and the *Arbeitsschule* of Dr. Kerschensteiner in Munich.[2] The goal of the school itself seems to warrant the term " Life School." " Not only the classes but the school itself is a copy of life."[3] Further justification will be apparent from the details that follow.

[1] This is a distinction that must be borne carefully in mind, when a critique of German methods is undertaken. The class-work itself in Germany always allowed considerable liberty. It was less formal than in France, and far less under the control of tradition than in England.

[2] The *Arbeitsschule* of Munich is not to be confused with the Continuation Schools of Munich, which form still another type of school.

[3] " Die Verssuchsschule macht ihre Klassen, ja ihre ganze Schule zum Abbild des Lebens."

The school in question had its antecedents before the War. In 1912 the teachers' associations of Saxony, and the German Teachers' Union in Berlin took under consideration the question of reorganizing the whole school-system, and finally concluded that certain reforms could no longer be delayed. It was thought that improvements could be made more easily in the lower grades. Here it was proposed to begin the instruction along the lines of actual work (*Arbeitsschule*).[1] The school-commissions sanctioned the proposed experiments in sixteen *Volksschulen* at Easter, 1912, and in 1915 in all elementary classes, provided the teacher and parents agreed to the plan. The continued duration of the War brought nearly all such movements to an end; however, the days of the Revolution revived them with renewed force and vitality.

At Easter, 1920, the *Lehrerverein* once more took up the plan of establishing an *Arbeitsschule*. This is to be a school-activity in which the most conscientious effort possible is to be made to bring about the natural development of the pupil, and the complete unfolding of his powers, through a healthful concentration and exercise toward independence. It is a school-activity that takes as its basis the life of the home, and that sees its chief subject-matter of training and instruction in the actual labour-transactions of every-day life.

The school has no definitely-fixed curriculum or programme. The staff tries to build new human beings, and not imitators whose first function and greatest achievement are feats of memory. It is to be a striving towards the creation of active beings, whose spirits are controlled by a will, and who have the capacity *to do*.

The beginning starts with the child-impulses that urge toward deeds. The self-activity of the child and independent creation are kept in the foreground in all the transactions of work, and in the technique of labour. The school endeavours to demonstrate whether and how far it is possible to realize culture, knowledge and judgment from the child itself.

The creative being takes his impulses from life. The new human being must have a view and sense of the necessities that grow out of life, and must know how these necessities are to be met (*Gesamtunterricht*). For this reason the school pursues an instruction that proceeds from the sum-total of all these forces. This is an instruction that proceeds from life, and not out of any specified branch.

In the flood-tide of life observations are made and investigated. The children are taken to the wood and the heath, into the bustle of the great city, into the workshop and factory, to the railway-station, to the library, to the museum, to the fair, and to the zoological gardens. Culture is acquired at the source. The content of life, which is the relationship between the "I and the other fellow," is constantly kept in the foreground.

The whole school is founded upon the mutual confidence of pupils,

[1] Dr. Kerschensteiner agrees that the changes can be most easily commenced in the lower grades, but his plans and those of the school described have in view goals which differ widely.

teachers and parents. Each group is given the widest possible chance of co-operating in both rule and action. These three groups form a *Schulgemeinschaft*. Regular meetings are held, and all sorts of questions are discussed that pertain to the welfare of the school. Parents are taught the plan and goal of the school, and they are given full explanations of what the children are doing.

The writer was particularly impressed by the exceptional co-operation that the parents gave to the school. Now, Germany is poor. It is almost impossible to get money for new equipment—tables, chairs, blackboards and material for the workshops. The teachers understand the art of enlisting the help of the parents in providing much of this material.[1] One father is skilled in woodwork, another in plumbing, another in painting and varnishing. In fact, a place is found for the employment of the talents of all the patrons. Mothers particularly are encouraged to visit the school. It was a novel experience for the writer to see German fathers and mothers sitting in a German *Volksschule*, as visitors. Parents have gone into this movement with the spirit of reformers. It has opened to them a new world and new reasons for living.

That the school is a success is admitted by all. However, the reactionaries maintain, and perhaps with some reason, that the plan cannot become universal, because it will not always be possible to get a corps of teachers who are sufficiently specialized both by training and temperament to co-operate in a plan that allows such freedom and initiative.

The discipline is good, although no one seems to be commanding. The children are very busy reading, writing, drawing, and discussing with each other and the teacher matters pertaining to their work. The visitor has the sensation of being in a growing garden of citizenship.

2. *The Hamburg System*

The schools that we are now about to describe may be put under various titles. Sometimes they are called Fellowship Schools, at other times, Community Schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*). In Germany there are so many schools that pass under some such title that the Germans themselves often use the term "Hamburg System" in order to distinguish those from other Community Schools in Germany. Although the system originated in Hamburg, the plan has been adopted in other German cities. Certain features distinguish this plan quite markedly from the Life Schools already described in the previous division, and also from the types to be noted in succeeding divisions.

In the winter of 1921-2 the system was worked by more than two-hundred teachers in Hamburg alone. The plan was confined to Elementary Schools, with the exception of one Higher School for children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years. In the same winter the system was in operation in certain classes in five or six

[1] A room for metal-work was being installed, and another room for exercises in physics was already fitted-up.

schools in Berlin. Other German cities are giving these methods a trial.

These schools did not rise out of the Revolution. They represent the natural, organically-grown expression of a movement of culture and liberty deeply-rooted in a democratic character, which had ripened and become strong through external repression. The Revolution merely gave occasion for a sudden assertion and expansion of foundations and principles.

The ideas originated with certain of the Elementary School teachers and the working-classes of Hamburg. Northern Germany has always shown strong tendencies toward liberty. Even as early as the eighties, the Hamburg Workmen's Union founded the Free Stage of the People, with a view to the self-education of the labouring-classes in art. In connection with this there followed in 1888 the founding of the Committee of Children's Plays, which was inspired by their leader, Heinrich Wolgast. The association is still in existence. This was a rejuvenation of pedagogy through the spirit of art, arising out of a firm belief in the original creative activity of every human soul.

Some of the best books dealing with the new system are dedicated to this same Heinrich Wolgast and the co-labourers of his day. We quote certain telling passages from *Schulkaserne oder Gemeinschaftsschule* (Barracks- or Community School) by Adolf Jensen and Wilhelm Lamszus, foremost among the present-day promoters of the new idea :

" The school in which pupils are taught subjects and filled with information (*Lernschule*) is the Potsdam of education, the militarism of the soul, army barracks."

" We, the German teachers, are to blame if our people have so long been kept from our poets. We, the teachers, have blocked the way that leads to art, and robbed them of the atmosphere of poetry. We have quenched all joy; and that which is highest happiness and revelation, we have made affliction and torment. We have struck poetry dead."

" Because our school had lost all connection with life, it could not find the way to art. Nowhere was this more clearly brought into evidence than among the six- and seven-year-old children, who were to be taught to open their mouths in harmless prattle. . . . We never believed that children had enough wisdom and skill to form a few sentences on their own account. Why, *that* they had never *learned* ! *That* they must practice first in the *school*."

" Had we only said to ourselves that the child, even before it becomes of school-age, relates stories not because it has learned story-telling, but because it must do so through an irresistible and natural impulse !"

" Children must be put before the class, in the same manner as they stand before their comrades in every-day life. The story-teller and his public are the only basis on which the art of story-telling can find a rebirth."

" The child shall not perform the tasks that have been set by the teacher, but those that have been suggested from life itself. The

principal work of the composition-pupil is not in his room and on the writing-table, but out-of-doors, eye to eye with experience. . . . It is valueless to write for the teacher and the satisfaction of his whims, but the child must learn to go straight to life at every moment, in order to emerge from passivity to the activity of life."

"The old-time constructed composition did almost nothing for life."

"All learning, all knowing, proceed from induction, and are acts of intuition. And only from the moment that we base aesthetic knowledge upon induction, have we found the natural basis of a critical literary education. Only then can we build further with success."

"Instead of giving the young an opportunity to observe the coming of a natural power of speech in themselves, we rob them of that which is most precious, the independently-rising conception, and we command what they are to conceive."

"That each young person may become a seeker and discoverer of beauty, is the meaning of the new literary education."

"Because we have destroyed the power to *seek* in our young people, because we have systematically driven out of them all initiative by means of a curriculum and daily programme, they stand, when they come out of school, helpless before life, and must be sacrificed to every allurement and false friend that chance encounter brings into their path."

As we have already noted in the case of the Life Schools, the Hamburg System has neither a school curriculum, nor a daily programme.

And now the closing paragraph of the text:

"When our pupil grows out of the school, he stands not before a strange and unknown world, for he grows from the first school-year in the midst of life. Long before his school-years are over he has become engrossed in a book-store, and knows where precious treasures are to be had at a bargain. Long ago he has commenced to collect a library and to value books as his most trusted friends."

After spending some days in a school worked on the above plan, the writer has no difficulty in believing that the proposed ideals are fully-realized.

One of the first acts of the Prussian Minister of Education was to grant freedom from time-tables for such schools as wished to strike-out on their own lines. Time-tables are never given out at the beginning of the school, but schemes of work grow up in a perfectly natural manner.

The relation of parents to the teachers and the school is the same as already-noted for the Life School.

The teacher deals with the group rather than with the individual pupil. For that reason there is no great concern over the size of the classes. If the room is large, and well-heated and ventilated, fifty can be managed quite as easily as twenty-five.

Reading and writing in the lower classes are not taught in set lessons, but the psychological moment is awaited when the child demands such instruction as a result of its activities in painting, modelling, observation or meditation. The activities of every normal child

will awaken such an impulse in due time. Any apparent loss of time that is occasioned by the late development of these faculties is more than compensated for by the driving-force given to this faculty by spontaneous interest.

Oberstadtschulrat (Superintendent of Schools) Paulsen, of Berlin, is a firm believer in the system. He was formerly connected with the Hamburg schools, and when the Socialists got control of the municipal government of Berlin their first act was to put a real school-reformer at the head of the school-system. In an interview with the writer he stated his conception of these Community Schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*):

1. The school is not a place of instruction, but a community of youth of both sexes.

2. The school annuls social and class distinctions. It recognizes no religious or political parties.

3. The school offers all possible equipment for education and growth that is suited to the talent and capacity of the child.

4. The school completes its organization in entire independence of all the present school-types. It has no regard for examinations or vocations. It follows its own law, and disclaims any educational prerogative.

5. After the children attain the age of ten years the opportunity is given them to go into the community-workshop for several half-days each week. The child is neither investigator, artist, nor manual worker, but he investigates, creates, and expresses himself with his own hands.

In 1920 Herr Jensen, whose book we have summarized, was brought from Hamburg to Neukölln, one of the large suburbs of Berlin. The writer had occasion to visit some of the classes of his school in February, 1922. One morning he was present at a continuous school-session that began at eight o'clock and continued for over four hours without a break, and there was not the slightest sign of lack of interest or weariness on the part of the teacher, pupils, or visitors.

The whole atmosphere seemed perfectly natural. The scene could have been compared to a happy and well-ordered family sitting around an evening dinner-table. The teacher presided in a fatherly spirit, and seemed always capable and ready to welcome the thoughts and contributions that the enthusiastic group about him were eager to express. Some of the children ate sandwiches; others from time-to-time got up and quietly left the room. Again, others came in and took their places. No one paid any attention to formal discipline but the order was splendid. There were two other visitors present besides the writer. The visitors took part in the discussion, asked questions and made suggestions, but none of this seemed to embarass the children who were accustomed to entertain the stranger in their new school of life. The teacher showed that he understood the art of putting himself into complete harmony with the spirit of the child. At no time

did he "talk down" to the children. He knew how to direct, guide and teach without having it suspected that he was doing any of these things. He was on their level and seemed to know their power. The perfect harmony in spirit of each member of the group gave a tremendous momentum to a kind of psychological imperative which every one felt the instant he entered the room. Here one was in the midst of a spirit that had been created voluntarily and had grown out of the necessities of the hour, and which for that reason was all-compelling. It differs most widely from an atmosphere that traces its original force to official orders from some department of education and which is in the process of being carried-out by a teacher who presides in the class-room.

In times past the writer visited many school-classes. They were not without interest, but the thing that attracted his attention most was the reaction of the child against goals and methods of imparting knowledge that had originated outside its life-experience. These were not always suitable, and for that reason one soon found that a great number of children were not profiting by the reaction. It was an attempt to give them a diet that was not of their own choosing. Forcible feeding has never proved a perfect success.

In the school that we are now examining there is not the slightest doubt that the children are being trained in independent thinking and self-control. The power that they show in their ability to carry-on a discussion has been raised to a real art. The keystone around which the entire life of the class-room is built is the little essay written out of the child's own life-experience. The children have written a large number of short stories and descriptions of scenes at home and in the streets. The topics are always of their own choosing, and they read to each other what they have written, receiving each from the other helpful and appreciative criticism. The visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that a number of children become so enthusiastic in their school-work that they have written the essays for weeks in advance and are only awaiting the hour when these may appear on the programme. The school-room has become a stage, and each pupil an artist who is anxious to perform. In the course of the year some of the children have written from forty to sixty essays. In many cases the child writes on the same subject nearly all the time.

For example: More than a third of the papers written by one little girl were about her baby-brother, a year-and-a-half old. This was a case where the pupil had written almost nothing for some months, and of course it was against the principle on which the school is conducted to force the child to work. The principle is one that says, "We will wait until the individual is ready to contribute on his own account." In this case, the girl seems to have been inspired at the time her little brother commenced to talk, and since then she has written several papers each week. Her descriptions show great power of imagination, and yet are child-like and simple. Philosophers and eminent scholars could not fail to be charmed by hearing her translate the broken sentences and joyful play of her little brother. The teacher and pupils

are always anxious to hear the latest developments of Baby Brother, and for that school he has become a real character. The children have expressed a desire to see him, so next week the mother and the baby are coming to school, and the children are to be introduced to the character who has been for some months past the subject of no small part of their child-life joys.

Another girl has written about fifty essays during the year, of which more than twenty are about her dog. These stories also show powerful imagination and she has proved without a doubt that she is able to interest her classmates in that dog. Last week the school had a dog-show. The children wanted to see the dog, so he was brought to school.

Another child has a cat, and there is every indication that there will soon be a cat-exhibition.

The underlying current of the entire proceedings is based on the theory that the feeling and tender emotions are to be developed, rather than the faculties of thinking and knowing. The children not only read their own essays but they present stories and poems taken from the best writers. They make their own choice and show excellent ability in criticizing books. Some of the pupils between the ages of eleven and thirteen exhibited remarkable talent in handling an audience.

The children sang and also rendered some of their own melodies.

Finally, we listened to a criticism on historic art. The children put up their own work, and conducted the criticism. It was clear that the little essays they had written were finding expression in their art-work. One could also see that the historical stories which they had read were being translated by their own little hands in the art-work which covered the walls. One child won a special reputation for skill in drawing and painting. Another in writing stories. They combined forces. One painted the picture and the other wrote the story. There was a real community of interests established.

They also gave a part of the play, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Many of the children seemed to know the whole play. There was no difficulty in getting volunteers to take any of the parts. They revealed an astonishing power of imagination and dramatic feeling.

After such a school-visit one concludes that there are tremendous powers among toilers' children[1] that never come to light, because they never get a real teacher and guide.[2] Such a school gives evidence once

[1] This school was located in the working-district.

[2] The truth is that the school in all countries is still in a large measure an institution of inhibition. This is true from the primary grade to the Graduate School of the University. Is it not a fact that there are many teachers whose capacity for covering up genius is much greater than that of awakening talent?

How often have we seen college-professors and High School teachers come before classes with the note-books of their own college-days, a lot of half-digested views of their former professors, and much other material wholly foreign to the atmosphere of the moment? In other words, they are making a heroic effort to introduce abnormality into a situation that would be perfect happiness if only its naturalness could be held at a high level. Under this new system, the teacher bases his work on the life-experience of forty or fifty enthusiastic children instead of on a mass of old note-books and traditional explanations arranged in a more or less reasoned fashion.

more that life is infinite in its forms, and that this system has discovered the art of opening the door of child-life so that power, eloquence, art and harmony pass along in one joyous throng.

Finally, the reader asks, how does the Hamburg System differ from that of the Life Schools?

From the description it is evident that the two can be compared more easily than contrasted, yet the leaders of each movement contend that the points of differences are of the first importance.

Firstly, there is the difference in method and procedure. In the Life School the teacher does assume a considerable degree of direction. One day each week he takes the children out into the country or city, for the purpose of bringing the pupils into contact with the objects that he proposes to make the basis of the school-work. It is the teacher, after all, who fixes the ideals of the school. The Hamburg System sees in this a too-high degree of control over what the child shall do, hence it fears that certain of the child's own instinctive powers may never be brought into use.

Secondly, a different emphasis is laid on the psychical faculties. The Hamburg System apparently places the emphasis upon intuition, hence everything is done to call out the feelings and tender emotions. Through conversation with the teachers one gets the impression that they regard a child's natural powers with something of a mystic awe.

3. *The Work School*

The Kerschensteiner type: The general title *Die Arbeitsschule* is used in Germany for a large variety of school-types. If we do not insist on many detailed distinctions, it is possible to bring them all under two classes. First, there is the *Kerschensteiner* school, which is well-known the world over. Second, there are the various socialist forms, such as *Die Arbeitsschule* of Herr Blonskij of Leipzig, the Production School (*Produktionsschule*) of Berlin and other German cities, and a large number of Garden Schools scattered all over Germany.

In discussing the *Kerschensteiner* schools we omit the famous Munich Continuation Schools.[1]

In 1910 *Schulrat* Kerschensteiner succeeded in converting into Work Schools the elementary classes (the first four years) of quite a number of the Munich schools. The outbreak of the Great War prevented this new experiment from getting wide notice in foreign countries.

These Experimental Schools are still being conducted under men who have been thoroughly trained in the *Kerschensteiner*[2] idea. Owing to the number of the schools, their prestige, and the possibility that they will furnish many elements that will eventually form themselves into a permanent system of German education, they merit care-

[1] These are already well-known to foreign readers. Besides, they belong distinctly to the pre-War period, hence do not form a part of our thesis.

[2] Dr. Kerschensteiner is now Professor of Comparative Education in the University of Munich.

ful attention. Since they are much less Radical than the Life Schools or the Hamburg System their acceptance among the Conservative circles is easier.

We have seen that certain school-reforms lay especial stress upon environment, others upon the intuitive powers of the child, while still others are primarily concerned in bringing about changes in the administration and organization of the schools, or in obtaining the acceptance of certain economic, political or religious doctrines. Now the *Kerschensteiner* doctrines put the training of the teacher and his attitude towards the child in the place of first importance.[1]

"The teacher must belong to the social type of beings. The fundamental principle of his own being and becoming is love. Education is nothing more than the formation of that to which we are called from within. We cannot educate directly, i.e., form portraits after the manner of creative artists. We can only cultivate and perfect that which slumbers in germ in the soul of the child."[2]

"How can we know whether this love has become the fundamental principle of our existence? Never, until we are becoming, or have become the conscious bearers of values. Never, until we ourselves have been awakened to the yearning to erect in our own souls the realm of human dignity."[3]

"If we wish to have an institution of training for teachers, a school of pedagogy, then it must be born in this social spirit. It must have in its basic principles a social good, a fellowship in which the individual pupil can come to the consciousness of eternal values, and can discover and develop his own inclination and capacity in the realization of these values in growing personality."[4]

The school-community must be carried on in a faith in eternal values. If the teacher wishes to cultivate them in the pupil, then these values must have a validity throughout Time and Space. Kerschensteiner holds that such values exist. Kant and Fichte have given demonstrations. These are justice, truth, humanity, friendship, goodness, sympathy and the like. Now it is the business of the teacher to train the pupils to these eternal values, so that order may be brought out of the chaos of our present existence. The fact that they have been denied thousands of times in the history of the race both by individuals and nations does not affect in the slightest degree their timeless universality.

There are still other values that are held to be absolutely essential. It is argued that the largest community to which an individual belongs, or actually can belong, is the national community, which is the most suitable bearer of these values which education can call into life again in some other form in the pupil.

"The National Union holds the highest moral strength when its

[1] The requisites of the teacher are set forth in detail in the fourth chapter in the volume *Die Seele des Erziehers und das Problem der Lehrerbildung.*

[3] *Ibid,* p. 110.

[2] *Ibid,* p. 111.

[4] *Ibid,* p. 112.

members become conjointly conscious of the importance of this collective support, and strive toward the inner perfection of the nation as the bearer of these values. That is what I call national sentiment. It runs completely parallel with the striving toward the moral value of personality. No one can attain a value of personality except in and through the common values of the nation, and no nation can ever come to the consciousness of its own proper responsibilities, except by a national consciousness in its individual members.''[1]

The chorus of the national hymns *Ich glaube an Deutschland wie an Gott* and *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* must continue to live in the hearts of the teachers. Dr. Kerschensteiner says that such sentiment is nothing more than the singing of *La Marseillaise* for the French, or the national hymn for England, *Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves.*

We turn now to a consideration of the conception of the *Arbeitsschule* as it is conducted in the Munich system which Dr. Kerschensteiner organized.[2]

The school has a curriculum and daily programme. Singing, religion,[3] physical exercises, number-work and observation-exercises constitute the programme of the first year. Wood-work and sewing and hand-work are added in varying grades of complexity as the child advances in the succeeding three years. ''Only out of his own interest does the child become active and thereby self-educative in his entirety.''

Nothing is won by mere self-activity. ''In the Work School it is not a question of keeping the child active but of seeing that the child is impelled to activity out of its own self.'' ''The affliction and torment of the instruction in the classes of the ordinary book-school are so great because the whole school is organized on an intellectual basis that is in advance of the age of the children, whereas the social and technical interests which dominate in the child are completely ignored.'' ''The real interests of the child cry out for handling things. Only by manipulation are objects of culture worked-out.''

The practical operation of a *Kerschensteiner* and that of a Dewey School are quite similar. The underlying philosophies and the expected goals are widely divergent.

Kerschensteiner proposes to transform the school into a place of character-building through daily and hourly work which the child offers to do. However, he holds that the work-idea is quite as incapable of creating active moral persons as was the old book-school. Hence, the work-idea and the community- or fellowship-idea must be united. In this the Dewey plan, Hamburg System and Life School would be in accord. But now comes a difference. Dr. Kerschensteiner holds

[1] *Ibid*, p. 125.

[2] For a detailed description of the origin, ideals and organization of these shchools, see the volume by Georg Kerschensteiner, *Begriff der Arbeitsschule.*

[3] Dr. Kerschensteiner holds that religion ought to be a branch of instruction, although it need not be denominational. Nearly all other types of Experimental Schools in Germany teach no religion.

that there must be a daily discussion of the life of the community which makes clear the moral conceptions and issues. In no other way can the realization of the maxims drawn out of life be assured. It is in this connection that the child will be led to the acceptance of the eternal values of Kant, and the nationalistic doctrines of Fichte. According to the Dewey philosophy this makes education an unfolding, which means development by means of control from without instead of growth. Also, it makes national sovereignty an ideal of the first importance, instead of secondary and personal and ultimately subordinate to a higher and more fruitful intercourse of all human beings. That, however, is just the Old German school all over again. It is the philosophy underlying the teaching of entirely too many schools even to this day in America, Great Britain and France. It means wars forever!

The Production Schools: There is a new type of Work School attracting wide attention in Germany. Owing to the lack of money and equipment, and to the fact that the Socialists were in power only a short time, the new schools have never been put into operation on such a scale as was contemplated by the promoters of the idea. However, the efforts, though fragmentary and sporadic in some cases, have demonstrated possibilities for future education that must be taken quite seriously by all nations.

The most popular and least Radical form of this type of school is the Garden School for apprentices and adults. The municipal governments of Berlin and some other cities in 1919 ordered that the grounds that had formerly been used for military training should be turned into school-gardens. In some cases, additional land was leased. A special committee was delegated to lay out the ground and devise a plan for bringing the land under cultivation. The preparation of the soil and planting were under the supervision of specialists. Teachers were appointed who gave full time to this form of adult-education. Allotments were awarded to families.

Parents and children work the gardens outside their regular working-day. Regular courses of instruction are given in practical farming. Parents and children learn all about plant-diseases, destructive insects and pests, and the latest methods of increasing the productiveness of the soil. Each family is given the produce of its own garden. The teachers organize camping-parties in connection with these schools. The apprentices are divided into groups. One group after another goes to the camp for a period of a few weeks. Here they learn how to build fires, to cook and to construct all the essentials for an out-of-door existence. While one group of boys is away at camp another group volunteers to look after the gardens. The teacher who described the plan to the writer was most enthusiastic about the genuine social spirit and mutual responsibility that such an interchange of relations developed.

The eight-hour working-day, which the Republic inaugurated, makes such a Garden School project possible. The idea underlying the apprentice and adult-garden movement is founded in a belief that every

man and woman should have some outside activity to break the monotony of the routine-labour of our present-day specialized industry. Further, this outside activity aims at being more than a recreation. It is of a kind that will induce the growth of a deeper and broader social unity. Finally, the point that merits especial notice is the plan to arrange a garden for all the unskilled workmen.

That such schools will encounter many handicaps in getting under way requires no stretch of imagination to believe. Nevertheless, that the experiments that have been tried thus far can show positive results of a highly commendable character is no longer a question of dispute.

Another type of the Garden School has been organized in connection with the Elementary Schools. This started during the War, and the original purpose was to increase the food-supply. After the War was lost the wish became current all over Germany to retain the gardens for purposes of education.

Berlin has acquired several large school-gardens. The one which the writer visited contained about thirty acres. Each child is given its own plot. Then each class has a plot in common. The children are allowed to take home or sell all they raise. Goats, dogs and chickens are kept on these gardens. No attempt is made to teach technical gardening. The main object is to teach that work is worth while. The pupils are encouraged to make all their work quite complete. It is a pedagogical principle. In general, each class spends one day each week in the garden. During the summer-vacation the children still look after the garden. Some of the teachers and overseers are retained for that purpose.

The children are taken in groups to the city botanical gardens several times each year. Here they get inspiration for their own garden projects. These garden-days provide occasions for out-of-door sports, open-air singing and nature-study. The garden-work is made the basis of practical studies in mathematics.

It is intended to establish workshops and cobbler-shops at the gardens. The community-idea is to be given full reign. Children are to be taught to give expression to their activity. In the spring of 1922 more than 4,000 children in Berlin were provided for in the Garden Schools. More than one-hundred-and-fifty other classes were waiting for the Municipal Council to provide grounds for them.

One of the most notable results of the whole Garden School movement is the enthusiastic co-operation that it enlisted from the parents. The school-work of their children has a new meaning now.

The Municipal Council of Berlin has a film exposition of the Garden Schools of Germany. Two days each week this is opened to visitors. It gives a very complete idea of the immense size of the gardens, and the thousands of children at work. The various stages of cultivating the soil, planting, weeding and harvesting are shown. As an educational idea it is certain to have an awakening influence.

There is a much more Radical type of Production School under wide discussion all over Germany. The prime factors are the *Entschiedene Schulreformer*. In this organization one finds a high

percentage of pacifists and internationalists whose point of view finds expression in their conception of this future Production School. Under the direction of their president, Professor Paul Oestreich and his numerous collaborators, a very large number of books and pamphlets have appeared since 1918, which champion some phase or other of the Production School idea.[1]

The advocates claim that the present-day Vocational School, even of the *Kerschensteiner* type, which has been held in such high favour both in Germany and in foreign countries, is no longer able to meet the demands of the vocational problems of the present industrial epoch. They hold that the *Kerschensteiner* school is occupied with workshops which represent the old guild-life. It takes no account of the economic basis brought about by the labour process of an industrial age. It is not sufficiently cognizant of the fact that we are now in the midst of a highly capitalistic and mechanical phase.

The Production School proposes to unite work, instruction and education. To do this the Vocational School must be put into the centre of the economic stage. The school must be made worthy of the century of steam and electricity. It must keep pace with the social and psychological problems that have grown out of the industrialization of the world. Instruction and education must proceed organically. The whole conception is based on the theory that the development of humanity is leading to a free community of all workers. Now the school should be a pattern of adult-life, hence it should be transformed into communities of production.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to study in any great detail school-systems that are not yet in practical operation. However, the writer is of the opinion that no educational literature of any country is as rich in fruitful suggestions as that of the *Entschiedene Schulreformer*. In training and native ability they are excelled by no group of scholars in the world. They may be vague and often contradictory. But they seem to have this advantage over others: nowhere else can one find so many people groping so hard and in such deadly earnest.

(*e*) Modern Influences Affecting the School Spirit

1. *The Wander Birds* (*Die Wandervögel*)

The *Wandervögel*[2] idea started in Berlin-Steglitz in about 1900. It began as a sort of protest against the strict discipline of the school. It represented an effort to get away from the constant supervision from above. Soon the whole movement took on a romantic character. Wanderings were made by night. Open fires were built, ancient poems and folklore were studied. It was a real effort to re-live and under-

[1] See *Schöperische Erziehung, Menschenbildung,* and *Die Elastische Einheitsschule* by Paul Oestreich, and *Die Lebensschule* series edited by Franz Hilker. Also *Die Arbeitsschule* by P. P. Blonskij, and *Produktionsschule* by Olga Essig in the *Lebensschule* series. The quarterly journal *Die Neue Erziehung* for the years 1918-23 contains a large number of articles by various writers on the subject.

[2] Blüher, Hans, *Wandervögel, Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung*

stand the spirit of the inhabitants of the German forests of a thousand years ago.

Very soon it developed into a national organization. At that stage it encountered a strong opposition from many of the school-administrators. However, in this case, it seems that the opposition really made the movement stronger, and finally the School Authorities had to yield. The tide turned. Teachers themselves joined the organization. Their first thought was to control an idea that they could not suppress. Again they failed in this. Finally, this spirit of freedom which we have seen arising in Saxony, Hamburg, and a hundred other places, found crystallized expression in the gathering on the Hohe Meissner Mountain in central Germany in 1913. One-thousand young people of both sexes and from all parts of the country joined for the Festival of Youth. The object of this assembly was the unification of all the movements of young people in the direction of social reform and self-education, the realization of the inner realities of life as opposed to the conventional, and of the spiritual as opposed to the material. Out of this spirit grew a new sense of responsibility. Self-government in schools received a great impetus in consequence of the extension of these organizations.

Since the War the organization has become divided into many groups. There is no central force, but the idea is everywhere alive. Boys and girls, young men and young women, are making tramping-tours in small groups without a chaperon and without guidance of any kind. They form picturesque groups as one sees them swinging along through the villages and country-side, hardy and browned by sun and wind. Almost always bare-headed and bare-kneed, they wear simple khaki costumes which allow the greatest freedom of movement. Both sexes are attired practically alike, and nearly always they carry some musical instrument, a violin, guitar or banjo. A remarkable fact that merits special attention is the perfect friendship that seems to be at the basis of these tours. Irregularities on the moral side seem to be rare and quite exceptional. Standards of conduct have been raised to much higher levels. The opposition to alcohol and tobacco is strong amongst them—in fact, their attitude on these questions is said to have had a noticeable effect even upon adult-society. The origin and growth of the various ideas which this movement has sponsored form one of the most interesting chapters in modern German education. It is all a growth in the spirit of democracy and of republican ideals.

The movement has had the result of encouraging summer-camps for school-children. For example, the *Humboldt Gymnasium* of Berlin-Steglitz organized through its teachers and the Parents' Council summer-barracks in the suburbs of Berlin. The children live there. They learn to cook, and to do all the other necessary work of out-of-door life. Some of the teachers are always in charge. It is made an occasion to give popular instruction in nature-study and astronomy. The older children undertake garden-work. As is the case with all the similar projects that we have noted, it is an effort to return to nature in the hope of finding the key to a larger life, and the aspirations towards a more wholesome living.

2. *The Wander Day* (*Wandertag*).

Closely related to the movement which we have just described is the *Wandertag*. It is entirely different, however, in origin. The *Wandertag* was established by the German Government during the War. As Germany found it more and more difficult to fill the ranks of the army, it became necessary for her to look to the older school-children for that purpose. Hence, the Government hit upon the idea of a *Wandertag*. A particular day was to be devoted to marching. The children were to be taught to march in file carrying a heavy kit. Everything was to be done in military fashion. Some of the teachers resented the heavy military atmosphere that characterized all the activities on *Wandertag*, but in the main the day was observed in the spirit and in forms of activity that would prepare the school-children mentally and physically for war.

One of the first acts performed by the republican Government was the order of the *Kultus Minister* of Prussia that the *Wandertag* should remain. But he ordered that the spirit of its observance should be changed radically. It is now the custom for all the children in the Higher Schools and *Volksschulen* to go out into the open for an entire day each month. Hitherto it has been customary to travel by train, tramway or water. Most of the children pay their own expenses, while for the poorer children funds are provided through a school-treasury. Very often each class has a treasury, and sometimes the director of a school organizes one for all the classes. Also, certain of the patrons of the school take pleasure in contributing to this treasury, and school-entertainments are sometimes given for its support. In one way or another, then, arrangements are made whereby all the children may have one day a month in the country. Pupils are taken to some interesting old church, an ancient castle, or a place of special scenic value, and the teacher makes a point of seeing that the children not only have a splendid day of exercise in the open air, but that their lives are enriched by the knowledge and appreciation acquired from what they have seen. The child is systematically taught to have a deeper and finer impression of nature. He is taught many things concerning bird-, and animal-life in general. In short, it is a day spent away from books, in association with a real world. The *Kultus Minister's* order also forbade any military activities on the *Wandertag*, and it was especially forbidden that pupils should be made to march in columns. The order is still in force, and is the cause of one of the most significant changes in the German school-system since the War. One day a month spent in this manner will be quite sufficient to have the most profound influence on German school-life and ideals in the decades to come. It will not be possible for a teacher to spend a whole long day in the country with his children without learning many things from them, and they in turn will learn to understand and see many new side-lights on the life of their schoolmaster. And there is every reason to believe that both will be enriched by the experience

Here, again, we are told that the influence against the use of alcohol and tobacco is making itself felt. It is very seldom that the boys do

any drinking, and it is to be remembered that the boys range up to the ages of eighteen and nineteen years. Also, we learn that the teachers refrain from drinking or smoking, and some of them have given up the use of tobacco entirely, for the sake of setting a good example.

In the winter-time the day is spent in skating and tobogganing. It will be of special interest here to note that the teachers call attention to the fact that the forced raising of the prices on railways, caused by the Allies, is a terrible blow to the *Wandertag*, since it will be wholly impossible during this coming summer for the school-classes to pay the prices. Consequently they will be limited to going to such places as can be reached by foot. The Germans look upon this enforced increase in railway fares as a stroke against their culture.

3. *The Industrial Counsellors* (*Betriebsräte*)

The economic life of Germany is to receive a new meaning, based on Article 165 of the Constitution, which authorizes the establishment of Industrial Counsellors.[1] The workers are to have equal authority with the employer in the regulation of wages and the conditions of work, and for the entire economic development of the forces of production. Every industry is to have Industrial Counsellors if it employs as many as twenty workers. The number of Counsellors ranges from three to thirty according to the number employed. All citizens, both male and female, over eighteen years of age, have the right to vote in the election for the Industrial Counsellors. To be a member of the Council one must have attained the age of twenty-four years, must be a citizen, have been employed in the particular industry for at least six months, and have been active in the trade-question for at least three years. The enumerated duties and powers are very far-reaching:

1. They are held responsible for the execution of all legal requirements, contracts as to wages, and all recognized decisions of arbitration.

2. They are to aid in regulating the wages, in the fixing of the salary-scale, in the introduction of new methods of payment and in determining the time of work in vacation.

3. They shall come to a common understanding with the employer regarding service-regulations.

4. They shall use their influence in the avoidance of difficulties between the employer and the employed.

5. In case of disagreement of any kind, it is their duty to arrange plans for determining final decisions.

6. It is also their duty to see that accidents and sickness are avoided as much as possible in the industry.

7. They shall help in administering the business, especially in the administration of all welfare-projects, e.g., pensions and the company-dwellings.

[1] Mohrenstechner, H., *Die Praxis des Unterrichts in Berufs, Lebens und Bürgerkunde*; also, Aufhaüser, S., *Das Gesetz über Betriebsräte.*

8. They shall have a definite responsibility in connection with the dismissal and appointment of workers.

9. In connection with the proprietors of the industry, they settle the questions of religious and festive holidays, free days for special recognition of the men, and movements connected with culture.

Other great industrial countries, such as the United States, Great Britain and France have nothing to compare with an organization of such power. In brief, it represents a real effort to allow the ownership of the property to remain in private hands, but it certainly anticipates a full and responsible share in the management by the workers. It is a real compromise between private ownership and socialism. The special interest in this question for our thesis lies in the fact that special schools have been organized for the preparation of leaders in these Industrial Councils.

In Prussia two such institutions have already been established, one in Berlin, another in Essen. In these institutions[1] the curriculum plans to keep in the foreground the proper relationship between employer and employed, and thorough courses are to be given. The following are the topics that are to be developed at length: questions upon which it is necessary that they should come to an agreement, piece-work, order of work, orders of service, vacations, time of work, apprenticeship, accidents and dangers to health, the employment of the invalids of the War, the appointment and the dismissal of workers.

In various parts of Germany these Counsellors have given ample proof of their interest in the school-curriculum, the spirit of instruction, hygienic conditions and morals. They are active in urging the people to be more responsive regarding citizenship and voting. Labour is asking for an outlook that extends beyond things material. No other great industrial country has undertaken an experiment on a scale so extensive as that found in Germany. If the Republic lives this movement promises well to extend itself among the great nations. In it lies a possibility of evolving forces that will give the world a system of education that is democratic not only in name, but in fact.

[1] For previous reference to similar schools, see p. 189.

PART IV

SOME EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS COMPARED

Chapter I

MEDICAL INSPECTION AND GENERAL WELFARE

(*a*) England and Wales

1. *Medical Inspection*

For many years past England has had an efficient system of medical inspection. The Act of 1893 dealing with the education of the blind and deaf, and various Acts from 1895-9 (dealing with education for the defective and epileptic) were the outcome of the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century. In 1908 there came into being compulsory medical inspection[1] which was made more effective by the Act of 1914.

Medical inspection is both central and local. Each of the 317 areas for Elementary Education in England and Wales has its full-time or part-time school medical officer. In addition to these there are 524 assistant medical officers and 338 specialists. The number of nurses employed is 1,184, of whom 558 devote their whole time to the school medical service. These figures are useful as giving an idea of the comprehensiveness of the English school medical service.

There exist also Open-air Schools of many kinds for delicate or tubercular children. These are recognized by the Board of Education and receive high grants.

The Board of Education report for 1919-20 showed 1,800,000 children who were inspected medically as compared with 1,300,000 the previous year. "Provision for medical treatment was made by 298 Authorities (as against 287 in 1918), of whom 272 maintained school-clinics and 127 made contributions to hospitals in respect of treatment secured for children found to have physical defects at the inspections. Arrangements for the treatment of dental defects were in operation in 203 areas as against 169 in 1918."[2]

The Annual Report for 1920 shows advances still more marked. "Approximately 2,400,000 children are medically inspected during the year in three groups—entrants, eighth years and leavers. Records

[1] It seems that much evidence could be collected that would show that the South African War gave the first real boost to medical inspection. Others hold that it is in a large measure the outcome of English athletics.

[2] *Times Educational Supplement*, August 27th, 1921.

are kept. There are now some 900 school clinics used, partly for examinations, but mostly for treatment.

"The number of children in average attendance at the public elementary schools during the year 1919-20 was 5,187,000. The following tables show the medical inspections carried out:—

	Entrants	Intermediate	Leavers	Total
Boys	354,700	265,678	300,570	920,948
Girls	342,394	259,783	296,533	898,710

"The cost of the service this year reached the total of £885,695.

"An inquiry was made into the reasons of the absence of children from school. The questions were asked: What is the percentage of total absences? What is the percentage of absences due to disease? How much time is lost? What are the principal diseases leading to absence? A large number of answers to these questions have been received from school medical officers. They show clearly 'that the causes actual or alleged which lead to the absence of children from school are associated in the large majority of cases directly with ill-health of the child.' A yet further proportion of cases are due to ill-health in the family. 'Generally speaking and making all due allowances, it is certain that a minority of the children absent from school are absent on grounds other than medical.'

"A comparison has been made between the defects found in elementary and secondary schools. The following table shows this:—

	Elementary Children—214,762 Percentage defective	Secondary Children—16,334 Percentage defective
Malnutrition	1.58	.81
Uncleanliness, Head	6.25	2.37
Body	2.43	.15
Scabies (Itch)	1.33	.18
Defective Vision	9.03	9.61
Squint	1.53	.27
Defective Hearing	.99	1.18
Otitis Media and Ear Diseases	1.82	.70
Tonsils and Adenoids	4.24	2.63
Heart Disease, organic	.63	1.18
,, ,, functional	1.03	1.27
Anæmia	2.40	2.61
Deformity, spinal curvature ...	.42	1.11
Other forms	.68	2.72

" The suggestion is made by one medical officer that a preliminary examination should be made before entry to a secondary school, since the ' places are valuable ' and should be filled by those fitted to obtain benefit. Sir George Newman considers that the findings of medical inspection in the secondary schools ' dispose once and for all of the idea that has been expressed from time to time that secondary school pupils, coming as they do for the most part from the " better class " homes, need little or no medical inspection.' . . .

" Some effort has been made to compare rural with city areas, and the result of this is shown in this table of percentages:—

Disability.	24 Industrial Areas	24 Rural Areas	London
Unclean Heads	8.2	7.3	18.96
Unclean Bodies	2.5	1.8	
Malnutrition	3.8	4.3	1.1
Vision	14.5	9.4	11.7
Hearing	1.7	1.1	1.0
Nose and Throat	15.5	19.0	16.4
Dental	23.9	23.6	23.4
Tuberculosis—			
Definite	0.1	0.1	0.2
Suspected	0.5	0.6	
Deformity	2.7	3.0	3.0

" The report, in presenting this and other pieces of evidence, finds that there is an ' unquestionable and substantial impairment of physiques in children living under industrial and urban conditions.' It is concluded generally, that notwithstanding twelve years of school medical work, two-fifths of the children who come up for medical inspection annually are found to be suffering from defects in greater or lesser degree.

" A large section of the report is devoted to treatment. Under the heading ' Adenoids and enlarged tonsils ' it is stated that returns received from 268 Local Education Authorities, representing a total of 4,500,000 pupils, show that 145,079 of these were referred for treatment. In all 78,532 received treatment, and 55,293 were operated on. ' Probably,' says the report, ' it is correct to say that from 5 to 7 per cent. of all school children in England and Wales suffer from these conditions in such a degree as to call for surgical interference.' Sir George Newman emphasizes the need for care in preparing the child for operation and also for ' after-care.' He adds: ' In some hospitals there is, it appears, disregard of the essential points named above, though not, it is believed, in any hospitals or clinics receiving grants in aid from the Board of Education or from the Local Education Authority. It is the duty of the school medical officer to be responsible for requiring strict compliance with reasonable regulations in this work. For children to be left to recover after operation, with bleeding throats

on a floor of a hospital waiting-room, or to be sent home suffering from hæmorrhage or vomiting in a tram-car, or to be allowed on the day following operation to play in the street and eat anything they like is obviously improper.'

" The extent of dental defect is commented upon. No less than 70 per cent. of the children inspected were deemed to be sufficiently serious in respect of dental decay to be referred for treatment. Scarcely more than half of them received it, however. There are now 586 dental clinics, an advance of 149 in the year 1919-1920. Further extensions are urged, but the number of dentists is at present insufficient.

" Physical education in secondary schools is discussed and games for girls advised. While caution is recommended, it is said that: ' medical officers who have had actual opportunities of supervising the health of the girls and young women playing games under appropriate conditions state that . . . ill-effects do not in fact occur, and that there is no reason to anticipate that injury, either immediate or remote, will result if games are properly chosen and played in moderation.' The report concludes with a section dealing with juvenile employment. Children should if possible be fitted for the tasks they take up, and it is suggested that the school medical service may lend important help in this direction."[1]

2. *Welfare of the London School Children*

No doubt one of the greatest surprises for the reader will be the information that the children in London improved their condition during the years of the War.[2] The figures below tell their own story.

The London schools can show a steady improvement over the period of the last twenty years, in regard to general personal cleanliness. This is due to the intensive effort of the school nurses and teachers. The continued improvement during the War-period has additional causes. First, the wages were high, and the consumption of liquor was reduced greatly. Food was rationed. In other words, the family-budget was controlled by supervision. The labouring people got what they needed most, even when the middle-classes suffered deprivation. In 1921 we note a little decline again in nutrition and cleanliness. The people were on strike, and out-of-work in large numbers. The working-class families actually had less to spend. However, since the public houses were opened again for longer hours, the population that went for drink increased in numbers again. The increased prosperity of the liquor-dealer registered itself in a lower quality of food and a dirty head for the child.

After reviewing the public health reports of the School Authorities,

[1] *Times Educational Supplement*, November 5th, 1921, p. 491.

[2] Some of the teachers do report that a decline in physical and nervous energy was noted among the school-children. This seems to have been particularly true for the sections of London that were repeatedly visited by air-raids.

Year	Clothing and Footgear			Nutrition			Cleanliness (Head)			Cleanliness (Body)		
	Good	Fair	Poor	Excellent	Normal	Sub-Normal	Clean	Nits	Verminous	Clean	Dirty	Verminous
Entrant Infants												
Boys—1913	53·9	42·5	3·6	30·7	58·5	10·8	86·6	12·8	0·6	77·7	20·6	1·7
1917	55·7	42·2	2·1	31·1	64·1	4·8	90·0	9·8	0·2	82·9	16·3	0·8
1921	62·3	35·9	1·8	23·6	71·0	5·4	93·9	5·9	0·2	92·6	7·2	0·2
Girls—1913	55·1	42·3	2·6	32·7	57·5	9·0	73·4	24·9	1·7	77·0	21·3	1·7
1917	55·5	42·8	1·7	31·3	64·1	4·6	74·7	24·4	0·9	81·6	17·6	0·8
1921	62·7	35·8	1·5	24·8	70·4	4·8	81·8	16·9	1·3	92·4	7·4	0·2
Intermediate Age Group (Aged 8)												
Boys—1913	47·5	45·4	7·1	22·0	62·2	15·8	87·1	12·3	0·6	72·0	25·1	2·9
1917	51·7	44·8	3·5	20·9	70·6	8·5	89·4	10·4	0·2	79·8	19·1	1·1
1921	58·6	38·5	2·9	16·6	76·2	7·2	93·1	6·7	0·2	90·3	9·4	0·3
Girls—1913	51·4	43·9	4·7	25·1	61·4	13·5	67·3	30·3	2·4	73·7	24·2	2·1
1917	53·5	44·3	2·2	22·3	70·2	7·5	68·8	29·9	1·3	80·9	18·3	0·8
1921	58·9	39·1	2·0	19·1	74·2	6·7	74·9	23·3	1·8	91·0	8·8	0·2
Older Children (Aged 12)												
Boys—1913	49·1	45·4	5·5	26·4	58·9	14·7	87·3	12·3	0·4	73·1	24·3	2·6
1917	51·1	45·1	3·8	27·1	66·7	6·2	90·7	9·2	0·1	79·2	19·5	1·3
1921	54·4	41·9	3·7	19·0	74·9	6·1	93·7	6·1	0·2	89·4	10·3	0·3
Girls—1913	51·8	44·8	3·4	30·6	55·1	14·3	67·2	30·4	2·4	74·8	23·1	2·1
1917	55·3	43·3	1·4	28·5	65·2	6·3	70·2	28·7	1·1	81·7	17·6	0·7
1921	57·6	40·7	1·7	21·4	72·8	5·8	73·2	25·0	1·8	91·2	8·6	0·2

and the Ministry of Health, and after a visit to the headquarters of the Medical Inspection Staff, one seems warranted in concluding that the physical care of children is the domain in which the English schools have shown most improvement in recent years. It is probably in this field that the school-systems of other nations could gain most profit by following the English example.

3. *The Relation Between Mental and Physical Efficiency*

Experiments are going on in certain English schools to test and gauge the relation between vitality and the power of persistence—in other words, will-power and character. The writer was particularly impressed by what he saw of these experiments in the Manchester Grammar School.[1] Certainly one of the chief factors that accounts for the pre-eminent success of that institution lies in the close co-operation between the physical director, the school-doctor and the teachers. Each one seems thoroughly convinced that he cannot do his best work unless he has the help that the other two can give. It is still more remarkable to note how completely the boys themselves have the same conviction. It is a genuine pleasure to see young lads come up for physical examination and tests, and to notice that they turn at once to compare their records with what they are doing in their studies and in the gymnasium. Each boy is provided with a book in which he keeps a record of his progress in studies and gymnastic work, and his physical condition and growth. All this has a meaning for the boy. He feels that he has become the architect of his body and mind. He is inspired by the thought that he has been entrusted with the building of his own fortune.

The exercises in the gymnasium of this same institution had a unique character that bears directly on education. Games that called forth individual distinctions were given a secondary place in the schedule, for example, lawn-tennis, jumping, vaulting and the like. The emphasis was laid upon exercises that needed a high degree of co-operation if a really beautiful effect were to be attained. The individual pupil was acquiring the art of seeing himself grow as part of the whole group. The whole gymnasium in turn saw its success in terms of the health and scholastic achievements of the whole school. After a day in such an institution, the reason why England is great dawns upon the visitor.

(*b*) Scotland

1. *Medical Inspection in Glasgow*

The size of the medical staff for school-inspection in the city of Glasgow will give the reader an idea of how important this work is

[1] See *The Relation Between Mental and Physical Efficiency of Boys at the Manchester Grammar School*, by Alfred A. Mumford. This book creates a new outlook in attempting to find the relation of the working of the bodily organs to the structure of the mind. There is shown to be a real relationship between breathing-capacity and school-work.

considered in Scotland. Glasgow alone has a chief medical officer, deputy medical officer, nine full-time assistants, nine part-time assistants, seven part-time consultants, two full-time and six part-time dentists, and a staff of forty nurses. When the Act comes into full operation the staff will be enlarged greatly.

2. *Provision for Food and Clothing*

Food and clothing are provided for necessitous children under the Act of 1908. For example, during the school year of 1920 there were 1,597 children receiving free meals. During the same winter more than 16,000 were supplied in whole or in part with clothing.

3. *Physical Training*

Since the passing of the Act physical training has been given a prominent place in the curriculum. The minimum amount of time devoted to it is two-and-a-half-hours weekly. The schools are giving much greater attention to swimming. In 1920 Glasgow had provision for 485 classes. More than 100 were unable to profit by the opportunity owing to the distance from the school to the nearest bath. The swimming-staff, in addition to the physical training staff, consisted of eight instructors, four instructresses, eight permanent bath-masters, and eight temporary bath-mistresses.

Play-centres may also be regarded as a part of the physical training equipment. The total staff employed in 1920 for the five play-centres was 197. When Section 15 of the 1913 Act comes into operation physical training will be compulsory for all boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years.

(*c*) France

1. *Medical Inspection*

The law of 1886 provides for medical inspection in both public and private institutions. The inspection is defined strictly by the decree of 1887. It deals with the health of the children, cleanliness of the school-establishment and observation of the rules of hygiene. Unfortunately both the law and decree remain dead letters, or nearly so.

The law invites (but does not oblige) the departments and the *communes* to carry out medical inspection. It is organized in nearly all of the *communes* of fifty-two out of the eighty-eight departments[1] in France. The service is paid for in eight only.

With the exception of Paris and a few other large cities, even when the inspection exists it is limited strictly to a surveillance of the school-buildings, and the checking of the spread of transmissible disease.

In Paris and certain other cities physicians are employed for part-time to inspect the school-children. For illustration, Dinard, a city of seven-thousand inhabitants on the north-west coast of France, has one physician for all the schools. He devotes a few days of each

[1] A department may be compared roughly to a state in the United States. The independence of French departments is very limited.

month to this work. Even at best it must be superficial. However, it is a beginning. There is real reason to believe that substantial improvement may be awaited in this field.

Several projects are before Parliament on the subject. These provide for compulsory inspection in both public and private schools. The inspection is to include the organs of respiration, sight and hearing, the teeth and scalp, bones, mental state, etc.

We have already noted that it was military reasons which were the most important factor in promoting the thorough inauguration of physical inspection in both Great Britain and Germany. This is proving to be the strongest argument for the French.[1] It has been shown that 50 per cent. of all boys born are dead or unfit for military service twenty years after. It is argued, and it seems with abundant proof, that 25 per cent. of these children could have been saved and rendered fit for military and civic duty. Professor Vidal estimated that a good system of hygiene could easily save 250,000 children annually for France.[2]

Further, the staggering death-rate among children at the present-time is bound to secure definite action sooner or later. Also, the advanced position of the leading nations on medical inspection cannot be ignored much longer by the French. In fact, it is really astonishing that a State that has so much pride and an appreciation of culture that is deep and more widely-spread in certain directions than in any other nation, can be so backward in the most ordinary provisions for hygienic living for a large part of the population, and especially for the Elementary Schools.

2. *School Nurses*

School-nurses are finding their way into the French schools. The French State maintains 160 school-nurses in the nine devastated departments. Only a small proportion of these women have had any specific training for their work. They are appointed by virtue of temperament and general aptitude.

Each department has one inspector, and there is one chief woman-inspector for the whole organization.

About thirty other municipalities pay for one or more school-nurses. There is no regularity about it. It is voted one year, and may be omitted the next. In Paris, this work is carried on by private organizations. For example, the 17th *arrondissement*[3] maintains more than twenty school-nurses. These are supported by the *Union des Femmes de France*. Another organization known as *Aide Morale* maintains three nurses. In some other instances the *Caisse d'école*[4] supports a school-nurse.

[1] See *La Proposition de Loi de l'Inspection Médicale dans les Ecoles*, Chamber of Deputies, July 4th, 1921.

[2] *Ibid.* An opinion accepted by many members of Parliament.

[3] Paris is divided into twenty *arrondissements* which correspond to American city-wards.

[4] See p. 116.

(*d*) Germany

1. *Medical Inspection and School Hygiene*

The splendid hygienic conditions which prevailed formerly in nearly all German schools are a matter of common knowledge.[1]

A thorough examination was made each year of the school-building, class-rooms, school-equipment, water-supply, heating, lighting, fire-alarm, play-grounds and toilet-facilities. The law fixed exact minimum standards, and cases were rare in which violation of prescribed regulations could be found. The sanitary conditions of a German-school[2] were usually among the first and most important impressions left upon the mind of the visitor.

School-doctors are appointed in all the larger cities and villages. There are a few country-districts in which no systematic provision for medical inspection of school-children exists. In Berlin there are forty school-doctors who give their whole time to medical inspection.

In districts of less than 4,000 children it is customary to appoint a school-doctor for part-time. In that case he continues his private practice.

All children are examined thoroughly shortly after they enter the school. A most complete record of the physical condition of each child is kept throughout the whole Elementary and Continuation School period. Every six months or year measurements of size and weight are taken by the teacher. Every three or four years the complete examination is repeated by the school-doctor. In cases of obvious need an examination is held at shorter intervals. At the end of the school-period another examination is made. In this instance the measurements and tests are made in the light of the occupation which the child expects to follow.

As a rule the mother is given notice of the day on which the child is to be examined. She hears the report and receives appropriate advice for furthering the welfare of her family.

In general the school-doctor does not treat the children. This is left to the family-physician. However, in cases of poverty, exceptions are made. In fact, the pre-War school-clinic provided free treatment to large numbers of children. Owing to the great poverty of Germany

[1] For recent information see Blaum, Kurt, *Die Jugendwohlfahrt.* For pre-War legislation see Tews, J., *Grundzüge der deutschen Schulgesetzgebung.* For the practical operation of the laws of hygiene see Schwochow, H., *Die Schulpraxis, II. Teil Die innere Schuleinrichtung.*

[2] This has been a most favourable influence towards the evolution of a democratic school-system. It has helped the movement of the *Einheitsschule.* If the middle and upper classes can be convinced that the sanitary conditions of the school and the cleanliness of the children are above reproach, one of the main objections toward sending their own children to such a school has been removed. It is just this objection that will make it difficult in many parts of France to realize the *école unique.* This same obstacle operates against a thorough-going democratic school-system in Great Britain. In a certain sense such a condition is a result, rather than a cause, of the lack of democracy in schools.

this work has suffered a set-back. It is important to note that in case of school-absence on account of sickness the school-doctor visits the child in the home in order to ascertain whether the illness is real or feigned. Finally it is the school-doctor who decides which children are under-nourished. He also selects those that are to be sent to the vacation-colony. The thoroughness of all this work accounted in part for the productive output of the German nation.

2. *School Nurses*

In all the larger cities the school-doctor has the help of a number of trained nurses. They are present at the consultations held at the school. Their principal function is to keep up the connection between the school-doctor and the family. They visit the homes in order to ensure the execution of the doctor's orders. They help to get clothing, food, glasses and any other necessities. They see to it that the children are washed. This is reported as being very important on account of lice. No doubt the school-nurses have been a powerful factor in bringing about the exceptional sanitary conditions of the German schools. The effect on the customs of the German people has been favourable. Germany probably owes her clean streets and railway-stations to a training which the masses have acquired in the schools. In most schools a German child has an official bath once each week throughout the entire period of its school-life. It is not possible to believe that such a practice could be without its influence on the after-school life. Even in these days of poverty, the visitor cannot fail to be impressed by the extraordinary efforts towards cleanliness that are made in the schools. The children wear old, scanty, worn, and in many cases, patched clothes, but they are always clean.

3. *The Physical Effect of the War on School Children*

In Great Britain and France the ports were always open. Enormous quantities of food came in all the time. The children suffered frightfully in consequence of the disorganized life occasioned by the War, but one cannot say that any large number suffered long periods of food-famine. In fact, in the case of England, we have seen that the children showed improvement in clothing and food during the War-period.[1] For Great Britain, and especially for France, it was the frightful number of men killed and wounded that created the most terrible suffering. Whilst Germany had this same suffering to bear, it was the shortage of food that proved the greater cause of misery.

The writer has made numerous inquiries among the teachers and school-officials in both England and France as to the mental effect of the War on the school-children. In either of these countries it is rare

[1] See p. 229.

to find anyone who has had first-hand experience ready to testify that the school-children are worse-off mentally because of the War.[1]

In London one finds evidence of the fact that the parts most visited by air-raids did produce a nervousness that will probably check the complete mental and physical growth of some of the children. If one gets similar testimony in France it is more likely to be in the devastated regions, but even there it is somewhat astonishing to note how stoutly teachers and responsible people generally refuse to admit that any mental incapacities arose out of the War.

In Germany the effects are everywhere apparent. The children are poorly-clad as compared with pre-War days. Their faces are pale and signs of under-nourishment are unmistakable. This is particularly true in the large cities of Saxony, in Berlin and in Northern Germany generally.[2] In the country-districts the effects are less obvious, but even a casual investigation of the schools gives abundant evidence of the scourge of War.

The splendid system of medical inspection supported by a highly-developed organization of school-nurses was still sufficiently intact after the War to make it possible to get an immense quantity of reliable and well-classified information on school-conditions.[3] In Saxony some of this material was collected and classified by the Department of the Interior. The reader would have been startled perhaps if he could have seen the mountain of statistical material that the various bureaux had on file. We shall have to content ourselves here with a mere summary of certain of the more salient facts.

In 1921 more than 10 per cent. of the children on leaving the schools

[1] In the opinion of the writer, the eugenic effects are bound to be enormous. A lowered mentality seems a natural consequence. Even now the visitor cannot help noting the large number of children in the first grade, although their ages range all the way from six to ten or eleven years. If one asks why there are so many in the first grade, the answer that follows most often is, "The parents are alcoholic." It is a reply that has no special scientific value. It is quite as likely to be race-degeneration, which would persist even if the use of alcohol disappeared entirely.

Now there is no denying that the War destroyed a large proportion of what was, physically, the best stock. War leaves an exceptional number of the unfit to continue the propagation of the race. Scientific knowledge on these matters is limited to a comparatively small part of the population. In America information of this character is much more widespread, owing to the extended teaching of sociology. Even to this day France essays to encourage irresponsible race-propagation by offering premiums to large families.

[2] The number that died of starvation during the last year of the War and the year following the Armistice has been variously estimated at from 500,000 to 800,000.

[3] No doubt the propaganda-element entered into some of the material that was submitted, and more particularly into the conclusions drawn in the newspaper-reports. However, a visit to the schools, homes and feeding centres convinced the writer that the great majority of the material that has been put out by the School Medical Authorities since the War represents work of a thoroughly scientific character. It will serve as a basis on which nations may calculate, in terms of physical and mental energy, the true price of War. There is reason to believe that the results will be so staggering that the brains still left to carry on civilization may be induced to organize renewed efforts for world-peace.

at fourteen years were stunted in their physical and mental development to a degree that made their entering into any kind of apprenticeship impossible.[1] In certain densely populous districts, 35 per cent. of the girls and 20 per cent. of the boys in the last year of school-life were decidedly below the pre-War physical standards.[2] In Dresden 7 per cent. of the boys and 13 per cent. of the girls could not undertake any kind of industrial work because of a poor physical condition.[3] The reports are full of complaints about a decline in morals that has accompanied this general physical and mental catastrophe. A great many efforts were made to put some of the more pronounced cases in summer-camps and recreation-homes. Owing to the lack of food and the expense of transportation most of these projects have failed up to the present.

In the winter of 1920-1 the Quaker organizations in Saxony submitted the following figures that had been taken from the schools in which they supplied meals and clothing:[4]

Group	I—102,847	children
,,	II—140,379	,,
,,	III—223,308	,,
,,	IV— 79,882	,,

Group I included children who were considered in normal condition. Group II was slightly under-nourished. Group III was decidedly under-nourished. It was deficient in weight and size and there was a tendency towards scrofula. Group IV consisted of children who had suffered a long period of under-nourishment. Their condition was regarded as critical. They were already affected by chronic diseases, especially tuberculosis.

Much important information is also extant regarding the appearance of new diseases brought on by the War. Perhaps enough facts have now been presented to give the reader a definite and fairly complete picture of the physical ravages of the War on German school-children.

Certain observations in the class-rooms are noteworthy. After the session was over the writer often asked the teacher this question: "In what way has the War affected the children physically and mentally?" Many of the teachers had noted that the number of children who were colour-blind has been increased by 200 to 400 per cent. Formerly a class of forty or fifty pupils might have two or even three, but now it was no uncommon occurrence to find six or eight. Sometimes half or

[1] The writer verified this statement in numerous instances.

[2] In nearly all reports one notes that more girls than boys succumbed to these privations.

[3] Similar official information can be obtained for hundreds of cities all over Germany.

[4] The writer visited some of the schools where the children were being fed. He saw enough to be convinced that the figures submitted may be regarded as trustworthy.

three-fourths of the class had to have the desk seats lowered, or else foot-rests provided. The number of children who show defective nervous organization was pointed out. The proportion of stammerers had increased, also the number who could not use a complete sentence. Knowledge of number-work was acquired with more difficulty than formerly. Finally, a tendency towards criminality, even in the school itself, was mentioned by a large number of teachers.

Chapter II

SEX EDUCATION

(*a*) England

The editor of *National Health*, Miss Norah H. March, states that there has been a great demand for literature on the subject of sex-education within the last two years. Letters are coming in which give ample evidence that teachers are availing themselves of the information. Already in some schools certain lessons are given by competent teachers. In other instances the school-physician is asked to give these lessons. The parents are invited to attend.

The writer interviewed some teachers who stated that they had given sex-instruction for some years. One master, who had been head of an Elementary School for more than thirty years in one of the largest cities, said that for the last ten years he had been arranging a series of talks to be given on the subject. For the boys the discussions were led by himself or the school-physician. For the girls, one of the women-teachers who was especially competent undertook the task. He stated that he encountered some opposition among the Catholics, but that there was no objection among the Protestant mothers, although some of the unmarried aunts opposed sex-instruction for their nieces.

The Board of Education has recently issued a Syllabus of Hygiene for use in Training Colleges, in which the students are advised to be prepared to understand the social problem of sex-hygiene. In its foreword it says: "Instruction in sex hygiene is left to the discretion of each individual college. The Board, however, suggest that it should be included, but the manner of dealing with it must necessarily depend upon the qualifications of any lecturer available. The presence on the staff of a medical man or woman, dealing with the whole or part of the Syllabus, would no doubt materially influence the course adopted in regard to this subject. The Board are satisfied that detailed teaching of sex hygiene is inappropriate in the public elementary school; still less appropriate is any direct reference to the cause and prevention of venereal disease. On the other hand, much may be done in the training college to give the students wise advice and direction on both subjects."[1] It is evident that the Board is going to be cautious about recommending such instruction for the Elementary Schools. However, it desires that the teachers shall be informed, and they will use their judgment as to the manner in which this knowledge is to be further disseminated.

[1] See *Report of the Eighth Annual Conference of Educational Associations*, January, 1920, p. 325.

At the Eighth Annual Conference of Educational Associations, held at University College, London, Miss March (to whom reference has already been made) delivered an address on the subject, *The Biology of Sex: Nature Study as a Medium for Sex Instruction.*[1] It was quite evident that the large body of teachers present were in unanimous agreement with the speaker. All this shows how rapidly enlightened public opinion is coming to see the necessity of doing something definite.

In January, 1922, the National League for Health, Maternity, and Child Welfare, and the Civic Education League held a joint-conference[2] at University College, London. A series of ten lectures was given on "Health Problems of the Adolescent." Sex-instruction was one of the problems that received particular attention. The sympathetic interest of the teachers once more gave proof that this work is bound to go forward in England. It is a perfectly natural outcome of medical inspection and athletics based upon scientific knowledge, and, finally, we may say that the War created such a havoc of disease and abnormality of ideas, that the thoughtful who yet remain are grateful for any favourable wind that blows.

Closely-related to sex instruction is the instruction on eugenics, which is the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally. It is concerned largely with the encouragement of marriage among the fit, and the discouragement of marriage among the unfit. Parliament recognized the eugenic principle in 1914 in the passing of an Act dealing with the feeble-minded. The English Eugenic Education Society advocates giving eugenic instruction in the school. Professor R. Douglas Laurie, speaking before the Society in January, 1922, University College, London, said: "It is biology, as the study that forms the basis upon which eugenics rests, which most concerns us in considering the carrying out of eugenic instruction in the schools.

[1] *Ibid,* p. 326.

"*Aims of Sex Instruction*

1. To supply knowledge of facts concerning sex and parenthood.
2. To give right perspective.
3. To aid in the promotion of high ethical ideals and a high standard of conduct.

Rationale of Sex Instruction

1. Child's intellectual or emotional requirements should be understood.
2. The general view is held that parents should give the intimate personal instruction, but the difficulties in the way of this are at present very great.
3. Much may be done through the wise use of Nature-study and other subjects in the school-curriculum to give incidental instruction and guidance.

Nature Study

1. Supplies acquaintance with biologic principles of life transmission.
2. Supplies necessary terminology.
3. Helps towards a right mental and moral perspective.
4. Prepares the mind for the reception of information regarding sex in human life."

[2] See *Tenth Annual Report of the Educational Associations,* 1922.

"To introduce formal sex education as a thing in itself at the adolescent stage is a policy open to serious objection. Yet I am clear that it is entirely preposterous to turn out the boy or girl from school as a citizen without any knowledge of sex other than that acquired out of school. . . . Sex education should be a gradual process, taken in perspective with the other bodily functions, implicit rather than explicit, and, most important of all, commenced long before the period of adolescence.

"Eugenics proper is not open to the same difficulties of presentation to the older children; but if the instruction be left to those of adolescent age without previous biological preparation it lacks much of its value. It is the gradual biological training that is fundamental with its many opportunities of planting an eugenic ideal. It is the training of the early years which has the most real effect upon character. . .

"It is said by some that it is better not to introduce matters concerning sex and reproduction to the notice of the child. One replies that such matters come to the child's knowledge as it is, but often in an undesirable way. The absence of reference to such matters by those whom a child considers the more respectable members of society results in the young person coming to look upon it as hardly a proper thing to have knowledge of these things, and he is liable to be ashamed of being suspected by his elders of having such knowledge. The critics should remember, moreover—and this is a matter which I cannot too strongly emphasize—that the child will have been prepared by what is implicit in the previous biological training."

The applause that followed showed quite plainly that the speaker had carried conviction. This change of attitude towards sex-education is a recent development, and must in a large measure be ascribed to forces, both good and evil, that were turned loose by the War.

That eugenic education in schools is getting a real foothold in England is proved by the fact that the Rev. Dr. Lyttelton, formerly headmaster of Eton, consented to deliver the main address before the Eugenic Society at its annual meeting in London, December 29th, 1922. When such a cause begins to get support from the Public Schools it means that public opinion in general is getting ready to regard the question as worthy of serious consideration. The speaker on that occasion advocated that the agitation for a health-certificate should be carried on in the schools. He lamented the fact that young people were allowed to grow up without a real knowledge of the laws of nature and health because it was feared that "some people might make a fuss" if an attempt were made to do away with the appalling ignorance of the children regarding the treatment of their own bodies. The practical task has become not only a responsibility of the teachers, but a priceless opportunity to arrest mischief and the loss of strength and vigour.

(*b*) France

In France a renewed interest in sex-education is to be attributed largely to the new wave of enthusiasm for physical education. It has

had the natural effect of raising a host of questions relating to alcoholism and social diseases. The result is that we may note growing attention to and demand for sex-education. At a national educational meeting held at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand on March 18th, 1922, the sex-question came up for discussion. It ended in a quarrel about words. Before adjournment it was voted to replace the expression "sexual education" by that of "biological education."

The Society of Public Medicine has issued a report which states that instruction in sex-matters must be given with great discernment and proper regard for age and sex. Given under such conditions the instruction cannot be other than advantageous to soldiers, apprentices, young men or young girls.[1] The extreme caution of the Society is indicated fully by their advice that "in no case should instruction on sex-questions be given in the Primary Schools before the age of thirteen."

In December, 1922, the International Congress for the Propagation of Hygiene held a meeting in Paris. A programme of action was drawn up for the purpose of fighting social diseases by scientific, moral and social education. This organization has enlisted the active co-operation of several members of Parliament, and other personages of great influence. They take the stand that without education on these sex questions it will no longer be possible to protect youth and the French race.

The *Compagnons*, whose educational policy we have discussed elsewhere,[2] have presented articles to the public on this subject in certain numbers of their official organ.[3] One writer shows how important it is that such instruction should come from those judged fit to give it, so that young people may be saved from the misery which comes from the ignorance or perverted knowledge of the great mysteries of life. He recognizes the importance of frankness regarding questions of health, especially concerning venereal diseases. He holds that it is far less dangerous to impart premature though inoffensive knowledge than to abandon the young to the unwholesome satisfaction of their natural curiosity by the reading of pernicious literature and the evil communications of perverted companions.

Sex-education and kindred questions are receiving serious consideration from certain of the intellectual groups. In January and February, 1923, a series of open lectures were given at the Sorbonne on social diseases. Eminent men in the medical profession and specialists in social science were called upon to address these audiences. There is a growing conviction that the future of the French race is deeply concerned, and that the neglect has gone too far already.

Recently the Ministry of Public Instruction sent out a list of questions to the directors of Primary and Secondary Schools for the purpose of ascertaining what was the real standpoint regarding sexual

[1] See *Manuel Général de l'Instruction Primaire*, May 6th, 1922.

[2] See pp. 139-40.

[3] See *La Solidarité*, January 15th, 1922.

education. The *questionnaire* could not be filled out without interrogating to some extent the children and parents. This the heads of the schools feared to undertake, hence the results were too meagre for scientific comment.

These facts do prove that there is an awakening in France on this subject among those responsible for the welfare of youth.

As was to be expected, the press[1] has taken up the question. After admitting that the subject of eugenics is being discussed in books, reviews, in the pulpit and in the public forum, M. Jean de Bonnefon gives an opinion which represents French conservatism most typically: "The old method tended to preserve the innocence of the child as long as possible, by every means, even by ignorance. The future method proposes to destroy the childish and temporary innocence at an early age in order to assure the virtue of the man through scientific knowledge. The English, Americans, Germans and Swedes have preceded the Latin races in this teaching. But the results are still uncertain, both as regards the beauty of the race, and the virtue of the family." The objections that M. de Bonnefon advances are, that the teaching on this subject may be incomplete, giving a half-knowledge more dangerous than ignorance; that it will be collective teaching given to children of varying sensibility, and of different stages of development, and that, therefore, its effects will be good on some, and bad on others. He holds that it may mean the end of illusion and legend. "It is dangerous to guide childhood to precise and absolute knowledge. . . . This effort to know may extinguish those mysterious fires that come from the soul . . . . society without ardour, without lyrics, without dreams, would be eternally to be pitied." He is a representative of that numerous group of individuals, to be found everywhere, who fear the world would be lonesome if it lightened its burden of sorrows.

It will be many, many years, however, before this form of education can be carried out in the schools of France. For the present it will remain in the stage of discussion among a limited circle of intellectuals and social reformers. The reactionaries and the Catholic Church can be relied on fully to keep the movement from assuming dimensions that would make it a force of positive magnitude in preserving the innocent and restoring the ravages of social disease.

Conservatism and ignorance on these questions go hand in hand. They will always be a great handicap to the normal development of physical education. Exercise and games will not be sufficient to build up the body. Adolescents must know how to take care of that body. The time has come when educationists must take up this new task.

(*c*) Germany

Sex-education is beginning to get a foothold in Germany. The writer has attended several large mass-meetings in Berlin and other cities where this question was the main topic of discussion. These

[1] See article by Jean de Bonnefon in *L'Intransigeant*, January 5th, 1922.

meetings are directed by the *Entschiedene Schulreformer*. Questions of this character find most sympathy in the socialist groups. They are free from the religious prejudice which prevents consideration of such questions, and the attempt to find scientific answers and methods makes a strong appeal to their whole economic and social conception of the future order. The overthrow of the old *régime* helped in getting a hearing on everything that was new. This applied to all topics, both the sane and the ridiculous. Sex-education has availed itself of this opportunity.

Nowhere has it become a special subject of instruction. However, in all the Secondary Schools sex-education is introduced in connection with the courses in biology. One encounters teachers who state that they make it a definite point to deal with these matters at irregular intervals, when the occasion seems to demand it. Some call in the mother for such conferences. It is quite evident that the opinion is growing more prevalent that sex-knowledge should begin early. It is beginning to be recognized that little or nothing can be done after the evils have started. Teachers and others responsible for the welfare of the growing youth are ashamed because so little is done to correct the pernicious habit of passing literature and pictures secretly to the curious and enquiring. It is a diet of the morbid and it has become the business of teachers to undertake its suppression. If the German Republic endures, and if the directing of it can be retained by the parties of the Left, there is every reason to believe that soon German education will make some definite contributions on this very important and vexatious problem. It is hard to believe that all the discussion of the last few years can come to naught. A great deal of aid will come from the fact that women vote. Further, Germany is making a serious attack on alcoholism. Sex-education and better morals always form corollaries of the anti-beer and anti-wine programme.

Chapter III

ORGANIZATION

(*a*) Salaries

1. *England and Wales*

With the present fluctuations of the value of money it is not possible to give any definite comparisons of the salaries paid in the different States. Even in normal times it would be a very complicated task to establish the comparisons with any degree of accuracy, because the plan of payment varies so widely. Allowance for the varying standards of educational training makes such a study still more difficult.

We begin by submitting certain tables[1] that will serve as a basis for later comparison and reference.

Teachers, by Grade and Sex.

	1913-14			1919-20		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Certificated ...	37,226	71,930	109,156	34,435	79,668	114,103
Uncertificated ...	4,655	36,752	41,407	2,659	33,113	35,772
Supplementary .	—	13,367	13,367	—	13,424	13,424
Student-teachers	485	1,486	1,971	488	2,959	3,447
Pupil-teachers...	674	2,986	3,660	497	3,544	4,041
Others				384	3,412	3,796
Total ...	43,040	126,521	169,561	38,463	136,120	174,583

[1] We are concerned only with schools under the Board of Education.

CERTIFICATED TEACHERS : HEAD AND ASSISTANT, BY SEX & TRAINING

1913-14

	College-trained	Not College-trained	Total	Percentage Trained
Head, Men	9,873	4,176	14,049	70.3
,, Women	9,084	8,812	17,896	50.8
Total	18,957	12,988	31,945	59.3
Assistant, Men	17,931	5,246	23,177	77.4
,, Women ...	30,018	24,016	54,034	55.6
Total	47,949	29,262	77,211	62.1
Total, Men	27,804	9,422	37,226	74.7
,, Women	39,102	32,828	71,930	54.4
Total	66,906	42,250	109,156	61.3

1919-20

	College-trained	Not College-trained	Total	Percentage Trained
Head, Men	9,703	3,691	13,394	72.4
,, Women	9,883	8,172	18,055	54.7
Total	19,586	11,863	31,449	62.3
Assistant, Men	16,713	4,328	21,041	79.4
,, Women ...	40,220	21,393	61,613	65.3
Total	56,933	25,721	82,654	68.9
Total, Men	26,416	8,019	34,435	76.7
,, Women	50,103	29,565	79,668	62.9
Total	76,519	37,584	114,103	67.1

The certificated teacher has usually attended a Secondary School until the age of 18 years. In some cases this has been followed by a two-year course in a Training College. The small minority have taken a degree. The remainder have taken an examination while working as uncertificated teachers.

Before the War the average salary for certificated teachers was estimated as follows:

Head Masters	£177
Head Mistresses	£124
Assistant Masters	£128
Assistant Mistresses	£95

The uncertificated teacher's salary was 55 per cent. of what was paid to a certificated teacher.

In 1919 a provisional minimum salary was put into operation in all England and Wales. This was fixed at:

£300 for the Head Master
£160 for an Assistant Master
£240 for the Head Mistress
£150 for an Assistant Mistress.

Soon after that date the Standing Joint Committees[1] for the three types of schools formulated scales of salaries which formed the basis of negotiations between the Authorities and the teachers. For the Elementary Schools three scales were added to the provisional minimum already mentioned:

(A) Certificated Assistant Teachers, Two Years College-trained

Scales	Men			Women		
	Minimum	Annual Increment	Maximum	Minimum	Annual Increment	Maximum
	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s
Provisional Minimum Scale	160 0	10 0	300 0	150 0	10 0	240 0
Standard Scale II ...	172 10	12 10	340 0	160 0	12 10	272 0
,, ,, III ...	182 10	12 10	380 0	170 0	12 10	304 0
,, ,, IV ...	200 0	12 10	425 0	187 10	12 10	340 0

[1] A special committee was appointed for each of the three types of schools, Elementary, Technical, and Secondary. Lord Burnham is the chairman of each of these committees, hence it has become customary to speak of the Burnham Salary Scales.

(B) Maxima for Head Teachers

Scales	Grade I		Grade II		Grade III		Grade IV		Grade V	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Provisional Minimum Scale	£ 330	£ 264	£ 360	£ 288	£ 390	£ 312	£ 420	£ 336	£ 450	£ 360
Standard Scale II	374	300	408	328	442	356	476	384	510	412
Standard Scale III	418	335	456	366	494	397	532	428	570	459
Standard Scale IV	467½	374	510	408	552½	442	595	476	637½	510

(C) Uncertificated Assistant Teachers

Scales	MEN				WOMEN			
	Minimum	Annual Increment	Maximum		Minimum	Annual Increment	Maximum	
			Appointed on or after 1st April 1914	Appointed on or after 1st April 1914			Appointed on or after 1st April 1914	Appointed on or after 1st April 1914
Provisional Minimum Scale	£ s. 100 0	£ s. 6 0	£ 150	£ 180	£ 90	£ s. 6 0	£ 140	£ 150
Standard Scale II	103 10	7 10	160	204	96	7 10	150	164
Standard Scale III	109 10	7 10	180	228	102	7 10	160	182
Standard Scale IV	120 0	7 10	200	255	112	7 10	170	204

The reader will understand that the above scales represent the minimum and maximum for any school-area. For illustration, London and a few other large cities are placed in Scale IV. Within the limits of any adopted scale, the teachers are placed at a point which is determined by the educational qualifications and years of service of the teacher. Further, it is gauged according to the size of the school.

In 1923, all the above scales were subjected to a 5 per cent. reduction, which was offered by the teachers in response to the general "economy cry." There has been an additional temporary levy of 5 per cent. for teachers' pensions.

The salary for the women is always four-fifths of the amount paid to the men. It is estimated that about 75 per cent. of the salaries will fall into Scales III and IV. The greater number will be in III. The increase in salary was more than 100 per cent.

2. *Scotland*

It was conceded generally that an increase in teachers' salaries was long overdue in Scotland. The average salary of certified teachers in 1913-4 was for men £165 and for women £86. One may say that

the increase in salaries as compared with pre-War days is about 100 per cent. for the men and still more for the women. This marks a substantial improvement even when the increased cost of living is borne in mind.

There is now a minimum salary, and at the same time less disparity between the salaries paid to men and those paid to women.

The minimum national scales for 1919 were as follows:

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	5th Class
Men	£150—250	160—280	180—300	200—360	250—400
Women	£130—200	140—210	160—230	180—300	200—350

The 5th Class salary is paid to an honours graduate in an Intermediate or Secondary School. The majority of the teachers receive salaries that come within the limits set for the 3rd Class.

3. *France*

In France[1] the salaries paid before the War are shown in the tables below.

Primary Schools

	Men	Women
Stagiaires[2]	1,100 francs	1,100 francs
Titulaires, 5th class	1,200 ,,	1,200 ,,
4th class	1,500 ,,	1,400 ,,
3rd class	1,800 ,,	1,600 ,,
2nd class	2,000 ,,	1,800 ,,
1st class	2,500 ,,	2,400 ,,

Advanced Primary Schools

	Directors	Teachers
5th class	1,800 francs	1,200 francs
4th class	2,000 ,,	1,400 ,,
3rd class	2,200 ,,	1,600 ,,
2nd class	2,500 ,,	1,900 ,,
1st class	2,800 ,,	2,200 ,,

Additions were paid for Continuation School classes. The *communes* provided a house or an equivalent allowance.

[1] The training of the teachers is discussed elsewhere, see p. 127.

[2] Teachers on probation.

By the law of April 30th, 1921, the salaries of elementary teachers were fixed as follows:—

Primary Schools[1]

Stagiaires	4,500 francs
6th class	5,000 ,,
5th ,, ...	5,800 ,,
4th ,, ...	6,600 ,,
3rd ,, ...	7,400 ,,
2nd ,, ...	8,200 ,,
1st ,, ...	9,000 ,,

Apart from their salaries, all teachers are provided with living-accommodation or a corresponding indemnity.

Advanced Primary Schools

	Seine	Other Departments
6th class	11,000 francs	8,000 francs
5th ,,	12,200 ,,	9,200 ,,
4th ,,	13,400 ,,	10,400 ,,
3rd ,,	14,600 ,,	11,600 ,,
2nd ,,	15,800 ,,	12,800 ,,
1st ,,	17,000 ,,	14,000 ,,

Normal Schools for primary teachers

	Seine	Seine-et-Oise	Other Departments
6th class	11,000 francs	9,500 francs	8,000 francs
5th ,,	12,200 ,,	10,700 ,,	9,200 ,,
4th ,,	13,400 ,,	11,900 ,,	10,400 ,,
3rd ,,	14,600 ,,	13,100 ,,	11,600 ,,
2nd ,,	15,800 ,,	14,300 ,,	12,800 ,,
1st ,,	17,000 ,,	15,500 ,,	14,000 ,,

Primary Inspectors

	Seine	Other Departments
6th class	13,000 francs	9,500 francs
5th ,,	14,200 ,,	10,700 ,,
4th ,,	15,400 ,,	11,900 ,,
3rd ,,	16,600 ,,	13,100 ,,
2nd ,,	17,800 ,,	14,300 ,,
1st ,,	19,000 ,,	15,500 ,,

[1] The advancement takes place according to the years of service, after six years in each of the classes 6th, 5th, and 4th, and after seven years in each of the classes 3rd and 2nd. There is no promotion to the 2nd and 1st class when the teacher is in a locality where the number of pupils is below a certain minimum. The list of these localities is established by decree of the Minister. Advancement may take place by virtue of special merit after four years, but the number that may be thus advanced must not exceed 30 per cent. of the whole group. Advancement according to years of service may be retarded for a year, on the proposal of the Inspector of the Academy, after an admonition from the Departmental Council. This admonition must have sufficient cause, and must be communicated to the teacher.

The provision for housing accommodation or an equivalent indemnity still obtains.[1]

The reader will note that the increase in salaries has been considerable. The increased cost in living must be taken into consideration. However, even after that has been reckoned, the writer finds that the great majority of teachers with whom he comes into contact admit that their financial position is better than it was before the War.

4. *Germany*

In Germany the salary-situation has become most critical. The fall in the mark has been so rapid since August, 1922, that in February, 1923, a teacher earned only one-tenth of what he received before the War. Certain figures may serve to illustrate the gradual decline. In February, 1922, the writer made definite comparisons between the salaries paid and the purchasing-power of the mark. At that time the teachers still received about one-fourth of the pre-War salary. In 1914 a primary teacher in Berlin began with a salary of 2,600 marks. This rose to the maximum of 5,000 marks. In February, 1922, the teacher began with 27,920 marks. The maximum was fixed at 41,840 marks. The beginning salary was ten times the pre-War salary, but the increased cost of living at the same date was already forty times higher than in 1914. The comparisons of the salaries paid in all the other types of schools showed quite similar results.

Before the War the German teacher was perhaps the best paid in the world. He received a substantial pension after his active teaching-days were over. In case of early death his family was well provided-for. To-day his life is harder perhaps than that of almost any other class in Germany.

(*b*) School Attendance and its Relation to the Needs of our Day

It is not easy to make comparisons with any great degree of exactness. Statistics are either incomplete or unreliable. Even if the number of years of school-attendance could be accurately established the degree of education for each country could not be determined by that alone. The effectiveness of the teaching would still have to be considered as an important factor. This would vary according to the methods, discipline, curriculum, equipment of the schools, and training of the teachers.

[1] To calculate what a French teacher receives in salary is a real problem in mathematics. Suppose we take a concrete case. The teacher in question is the director of a school. As a director he receives a minimum sum. To this must be added the increments for the years of service. Next must be added the amounts due for housing accommodation. This sum in turn varies according to the location and size of the town. There will be additional pay, provided the number of classes in the school exceeds a certain minimum. If the director teaches a Continuation Class something more will be added for that. In case he takes charge of the adult-education classes there would also be a small increment for that.

However, the first and most important question that must be asked for all countries concerns attendance. To what extent are the children in school? Since the passing of the Fisher Act we can say that all children in England and Wales are in school until the completed fourteenth year.[1] According to the best estimates[2] 90 per cent. of the young persons between fourteen and eighteen receive no further schooling. In time the Fisher Act will effect considerable improvement. Already 5,000 children in London are in attendance at the Day Voluntary Continuation School. Quite a number of other cities can report similar gains. Further, the Adult Education movement is really a serious effort in Great Britain. The Universities alone sustained in 1921-2 more than three-hundred classes for adults in various parts of the country.

Then, there is a very widespread activity on the part of The Workers' Educational Association. In 1921-2 there were in England and Wales 635 classes, whose total enrolment reached 17,000 students. The fact that the various municipalities provide grants for much of this work may be taken as evidence of the serious character of adult-education in England.

There are quite a number of educational efforts which are organized and maintained by the workers themselves. Their numbers are small, but some of the economic ideas arising out of these associations may have a positive significance for the future of society. Such organizations include the two-hundred Communist Sunday Schools in London, and the Independent Labour Colleges.

In Scotland the proportion of young people in school between the ages of fourteen and eighteen is somewhat higher than in England. As we have noted elsewhere, the Scottish Education Act, 1918, raises the school-age to the fifteenth completed year, and then follows the Continuation School.[3] When this law becomes operative there can be no real complaint about the amount of time that children spend in school.

School-attendance in France is considerably below that in England. Elsewhere we have noted that the law requires attendance until the age of thirteen only. In reality the great majority leave school at the age of twelve years,[4] when about 33 % of both sexes receive the elementary certificate. As the situation now stands the English children are in the regular schools two years longer than are the French children. Besides, it must not be forgotten that even before the twelfth year the school-attendance in England is better.

The proportion of children in advanced primary, technical, secondary and continuation classes in the two countries is about the same. It reaches about 10 % of the population in England, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, whereas it reaches 12 or 13 % of the popula-

[1] Scotland attained that standard some decades ago.
[2] See p. 43.
[3] See p. 75.
[4] See pp. 106-7.

tion in France between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. The French effort is centred on giving a very high degree of instruction to a small minority. The failure to keep the great masses of children in the schools cannot be explained on the theory that the French lack appreciation of the value of education. On the contrary, it seems fair to say that the French as a people value education more than do the English. The real reason why the French children do not get more schooling is a consequence of the continual quarrels among the factions over the control of the educational policy. Even if this difficulty could be overcome there is another reason that may account for a lower minimum compulsory school-age in France than in either England or Germany. Owing to climatic conditions the children mature earlier. It does not seem that this should be accepted as a genuine justification for a shorter school-life. However, it does mean that the curriculum and methods need to take into account all these climatic and physical differences.

When one considers that two-thirds of the population in both England and France never reach the minimum standard of elementary instruction of the respective countries, it is idle to talk about an educated democracy.

In England the tradition is still countenanced that the Public School group will continue to govern, and in France it is an *élite* that expects to guide the State. In the past, this doctrine has been to a large extent true in both cases; but now the times have changed. An uninstructed population is being rushed to the polls several times each year, to register their opinions about a host of questions of which they have not the slightest comprehension. The masses do exercise the power, but owing to an insufficient degree of instruction they become an easy prey to an unscrupulous press. They are made to believe that permanent gains can be secured in exploiting subject-races, cultivating jealousy towards some foreign nations, and hatred and contempt for others. It is true that many suspect that they are being imposed upon by manufactured news, hence they flee from one demagogue to another. The same election that puts one incompetent group out of office, puts another set, quite as irresponsible, in power. There remains but one remedy. The people must have a higher degree of instruction[1] if they are ever to become their own masters.

The case of Germany differs from that of both England and France in some important particulars. English investigators have repeatedly admitted the German superiority as regards the quantity of instruction disseminated among the masses.[2] The organization and efficiency of the German schools have been an object of admiration to all the nations. School-attendance is strictly carried-out. Fully 50 per cent. of the entire school-population complete the eight grades, 75 per cent. complete seven grades, and between 90 and 95 per cent. complete six

[1] In making these observations regarding England and France it is understood that much the same, or even worse, obtains in other countries. We plead guilty to the charge of being somewhat pessimistic about the democracy of the near future.

[2] See pp. 39-42.

grades.[1] In all the Southern German States compulsory Continuation School attendance follows for a period of three or four years.[2] In Prussia about 40 per cent. of the young people between the ages of fourteen and eighteen are now in Continuation Schools. The new Constitution anticipates that the school-age for compulsory Continuation Schools will be raised to eighteen years in all the States. More than 10 per cent. of all the young people continue in the volunteer-classes after the compulsory period is over. Besides these, there are various forms of popular education.[3] The sacrifices that the Germans are making to keep up their educational standard are far greater than those of either Great Britain or France. No one who knows the effort that is going on there now with regard to schools can have the slightest doubt that Germany will rise again.

The Germans went to school but, unfortunately, they did not learn the right things while they were there. The educational machine was wrongly directed. In spite of the high degree of instruction there was not really the working of a democracy. In so far as this tragic experience is failing to impress the nations, we have a measure of a peril to which the educational systems of other countries are leading our civilization. Everywhere we find a high proportion—even of the educated classes—who seem incapable of grasping some of the most fundamental lessons that the German educational error might be supposed to have taught. They condemn it rightly, but at the same time they show a state of confusion regarding the true educational conditions that must obtain if an enlightened democracy, capable of directing the destiny of the human race, is to arise.

In all countries the educational systems are appallingly inadequate to meet the needs of a democracy. Attention need only be drawn to the fact that the prosperity and the happiness of the whole people depend in the highest degree upon efficient and just social and economic legislation. Such an end is quite unattainable unless the people are instructed on the questions of land-rent, tariffs, taxation, money, causes of poverty and concentration of wealth, stabilization of exchange, the significance of trade with foreign countries, and the dependence of the modern State upon all other countries of the world. History has proved over and over again that the masses dare not trust the middle and upper classes to decide these questions. These latter groups continue to seek economic solutions that favour their own interests. They do not hesitate to plunge their respective countries into war. Under the present social and economic order, these groups are tempted constantly to gamble with the military power and material resources of the State, in the hope of securing still greater returns. It is always some comfort to the upper and ruling classes to feel assured that when the worst comes to the worst they themselves and their own children will be able to escape the greater misery.

[1] See pp. 167-9.
[2] See p. 183.
[3] See p. 184.

The outlook for European democracy can in no wise be assured of an immediate progressive advance until the great majority of the young people of both sexes between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years receive a thorough-going instruction on all the social and economic questions that we have just enumerated. There should be no misapprehension as to the reasons why there is so much unrest and disorder in the world. The explanation is quite simple. The masses do, indeed, exercise the power, but in a most ignorant fashion. The schools are not equipping them to meet the most elementary requisites of responsible citizenship.

Now, the previous pages have shown that the British and French systems of education fail in the attainment of this minimum standard in two essentials. Firstly, the great majority of the children are not in school during the very years when such instruction ought to be given, if the greatest benefit to the individual and to the State is to be realized. Secondly, the curriculum is not adjusted to meet the demands that have been enumerated. Only a small proportion of the pupils who are now in the Secondary and Higher Primary Schools receive any instruction on these present-day issues. The curriculum is still based on tradition and on the arbitrary decisions of those who have interests to be served through the control of the education of the State.

In Germany the children are in school, hence our first criticism does not apply here. However, the second objection applies in a greater degree, perhaps, than in either Great Britain or France. At least, such was the case before the War.

In no country are the people the intelligent masters of the social and economic forces that control their lives, hence there is no warrant for the belief that a golden age is just ahead. The recent command over the material resources of the world, due to new inventions and the discoveries in science, threatens to annihilate the modern States, because this material progress is not being accompanied by a corresponding intelligent co-operative action on the part of the whole people. Only after the schools have been reorganized for the purpose of fostering the human values that are constantly arising out of the very centre of this changed material world shall we be entitled to hope that a happy equilibrium will again replace the present forebodings of uncertainty and deep anxiety as to what the future may have in store.

During the War men harboured the firm belief that the age of a great democracy was dawning. Such a conviction implied that the apparent social unity of those terrible days had become an enduring possession of the nations. This, too, was an illusion. It is only necessary to study the class-feeling that exists among the various religious sects, industrial groups and social classes of every kind, in any one of the countries, in order to be brought face to face with the most unmistakable evidence that the War, instead of having led to social unity, has given a new lease of life to jealousies and rivalries that many of us believed to be long since dead.

However, the War has unloosened many latent forces that do indi-

cate that the roads to progress are still open and that certain of these avenues have actually been widened. An emancipation of a kind was secured by the masses. This is illustrated by the effort that is being made in each of the several countries to translate this new freedom into a further development of a common school-system of education, public and free. The idea that learning is properly a monopoly of the few who, because of their training in the Public School, *Lycée* or *Gymnasium*, are to form an *élite* governing-class, is passing. " But the revolution is still incomplete. The idea still prevails that a truly cultural or liberal education cannot have anything in common, directly at least, with industrial affairs, and that the education which is fit for the masses must be a useful or practical education in a sense which opposes ' useful and practical ' to the encouragement of appreciation and to the liberation of thought."[1] " Certain studies and methods are retained on the supposition that they have the sanction of peculiar liberality, the chief content of the term liberal being uselessness for practical ends."[2]

Despite all impending difficulties, the preceding pages reveal some progress along the whole line. New contacts are being established between nations and the groups of the several nations. This is affording a social unity which forms the first basis of a democratic education. We have seen that an increasing emphasis is being laid upon a school-programme that shall spring from these new relationships. This means that the human values arising therefrom are being proposed as objects worthy of conscious cultivation. It is the only type of education that can ever become the great unifying influence in the world of the future. In the meantime we await the mining-out of these values to a degree that will make it possible to direct civilization itself. In that day democracy will be real and the world-peace assured. It is a hope to-day, and, notwithstanding the prodigious obstacles just ahead, we have seen that there is everywhere a striving to the end that these new educational goals may be realized to-morrow.

[1] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, p. 301.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 301.

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